

STUDENT'S LIBRARY

*Vladimir Alexandrov*  
Vladimir Alexandrov

/ ESSAYS  
IN CONTEMPORARY  
HISTORY /  
1946-1990

*Essays in contemporary  
history*



PROGRESS PUBLISHERS  
MOSCOW

Translated from the Russian by Lev Bobrov

Editorial Board of the Series: F. M. Volkov (Managing Editor),  
Ye. F. Gubsky (Deputy Managing Editor), V. G. Afanasyev, Taube  
Ibrahim, Zafar Imam, I. S. Kon, I. M. Krivoguz, A. V. Petrovsky,  
Yu. N. Popov, Munis Reza, N. V. Romanovsky, V. A. Tumanov,  
V. S. Vereshchetin, A. G. Zdravomyslov, V. D. Zotov

БИБЛИОТЕКА СТУДЕНТА

Александров Владимир Викторович

НОВЕЙШАЯ ИСТОРИЯ СТРАН МИРА 1946—1990

На английском языке

D

JUL 11 2007

840

A43513

1990

© Progress Publishers 1990

Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

0503010000—492  
A 014(01)—90 14—90

ISBN 5-01-001920-5

Contents

	Page
Chapter 1. International Relations . . . . .	5
§ 1. Difficulties of the Post-War Peace Settlement . . . . .	5
§ 2. Confrontation of the Forces of Progress and Reaction in the Late 1950s and 1960s . . . . .	14
§ 3. International Detente in the 1970s . . . . .	28
§ 4. Efforts for International Security in the 1980s . . . . .	36
Chapter 2. The World of Socialism. The Soviet Union . . . . .	44
Chapter 3. Development of Socialism Beyond the Boundaries of a Single Country . . . . .	63
§ 1. Major Stages in the Evolution of Socialism . . . . .	63
§ 2. Socialist Countries of Europe . . . . .	69
§ 3. Socialist Countries of Asia and Latin America . . . . .	96
Chapter 4. The Capitalist World. The USA and Canada . . . . .	118
§ 1. The United States of America . . . . .	118
§ 2. Canada . . . . .	132
Chapter 5. The Capitalist Countries of Europe . . . . .	141
§ 1. Great Britain . . . . .	141
§ 2. Ireland . . . . .	150
§ 3. France . . . . .	152
§ 4. The Federal Republic of Germany . . . . .	161
§ 5. Italy . . . . .	172
§ 6. Austria . . . . .	184
§ 7. Greece . . . . .	187
§ 8. Spain . . . . .	192
§ 9. Portugal . . . . .	197
§ 10. Belgium . . . . .	202
§ 11. The Netherlands . . . . .	206
§ 12. Switzerland . . . . .	210



§ 13. Denmark . . . . .	212
§ 14. Norway . . . . .	216
§ 15. Sweden . . . . .	220
§ 16. Finland . . . . .	225
<b>Chapter 6. The Countries of the Asian and Pacific Region</b>	231
§ 1. Japan . . . . .	231
§ 2. Australia and New Zealand . . . . .	238
§ 3. The Countries of South and South-East Asia . . . . .	247
§ 4. The Countries of the Near and Middle East . . . . .	268
<b>Chapter 7. The Countries of Africa</b> . . . . .	288
§ 1. The Countries of Northern Africa . . . . .	289
§ 2. The Countries of Tropical and Southern Africa . . . . .	303
<b>Chapter 8. The Countries of Latin America</b> . . . . .	325
§ 1. The Economic and Political Situation in the Countries of Latin America . . . . .	325
§ 2. Development of Some Countries of Latin America . . . . .	339
<b>Chronology</b> . . . . .	362

## Chapter I

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### § 1. Difficulties of the Post-War Peace Settlement

*Peace Treaties Signed.* Soon after the end of the Second World War peace treaties were concluded with Italy, Finland, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania. The terms of the treaties had been discussed at the sessions of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs (of the USSR, the USA, Great Britain, France, and China) and at the Paris Peace Conference from July 29 to October 15, 1946. The conference was attended by 21 nations (the USSR, China, the USA, Great Britain, France, Australia, Byelorussia, Belgium, Brazil, Holland, Greece, India, Canada, Norway, New Zealand, Poland, the Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Yugoslavia and the Republic of South Africa). The peace treaties were signed on February 10, 1947. They ended the state of belligerency and provided for each of the countries concerned to have support for admission to the UN. Political clauses obliged the vanquished countries to assure all their nationals the basic democratic freedoms, prevent the resurgence of fascist organisations and extradite the war criminals subject to trial.

The peace treaties established territorial changes as well. Italy was left basically within her frontiers as of January 1, 1938. Small pieces of her territory were turned over to France. The Eastern part of Julian Krajna and a number of other small territories passed to Yugoslavia. Greece received the Dodecanese Islands. The Western part of Julian Krajna, with the city of Trieste, was separated as the Free Territory of Trieste. (In 1953 the Free Territory of Trieste was divided between Italy and Yugoslavia by common consent and with UN approval.) Italy lost all her colonies and pledged to respect

the sovereignty and independence of Albania and Ethiopia.

There were some territorial changes in other vanquished countries, too. The Soviet-Finnish border was basically retained as it had been by January 1, 1941. However, the Petsamo (Pechenga) region was returned to the Soviet Union. Bulgaria was restored within her frontiers as of September 1940. North Transylvania passed from Hungary to Romania. The Hungarian-Czechoslovak border was established as of January 1, 1938. The Trans-Carpathian Ukraine was incorporated in the USSR. The frontier between Romania and the USSR passed along the line established by the Romanian-Soviet agreement of June 28, 1940. A number of clauses of the peace treaties provided for ceilings to the armed forces of the vanquished states and obliged them to compensate for some of the damage caused to the economies of the victor nations. That was an important element of the post-war peace settlement.

*International Relations of a New Type.* Having gained genuine independence and set about deep-going social change, the people's democratic states began to pursue a fundamentally novel type of foreign policy consistent with the interests of the working classes. Its prime concern was to promote friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and strengthen the socialist community. The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies concluded treaties of friendship, mutual assistance and post-war co-operation. The contracting parties declared themselves committed to international peace and security. They undertook to accord each other instant military and other aid against aggressors. The treaties contained important provisions for the development and consolidation of economic and cultural links between nations. They served to promote the international unity of the socialist countries and enhance their defence capability, expedited economic and cultural recovery and development and create prerequisites for strengthening people's rule. The treaties set down fundamentally new principles of relations between States.

In furtherance of the relationship of friendship and co-operation, the socialist countries also concluded commercial treaties and economic agreements between them,

thereby starting mutually beneficial trade and economic co-operation on equal terms, exchange of technical expertise and coordination of their national economic plans. That defeated the policy of economic boycott conducted by the Western powers against the socialist countries. In January 1949, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania created the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA)\* designed to promote plan-governed, equal and mutually advantageous co-operation between the member countries. That shaped international socialist relations.

*North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).* After the end of the Second World War, the US and its allies made a series of foreign policy moves of an anti-democratic character. In 1947, the US launched the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan directed towards establishing political and economic domination by the US. The USSR, the People's Democracies and Finland refused to have anything to do with the Marshall Plan. Sixteen capitalist states (Austria, Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Switzerland, Sweden, Turkey, France, and Ireland) accepted the plan. West Germany joined it in 1948. By the instrumentality of the Marshall Plan, the US got Western Europe involved in the ambit of its policy and had reactionary and militarist trends strengthened in the policies of some capitalist countries.

Along with seeking economic supremacy, the US conducted a vigorous policy of building military-political blocs under its auspices. At the Inter-American Defence Conference in Rio de Janeiro on September 2, 1947, the US compelled the signing of the so-called Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance to "defend" the Western Hemisphere. On March 17, 1948, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg concluded a treaty in Brussels on economic, social and cultural co-operation and collective defence, which came to be known as the Western European Union.

The United States, supporting the union, was not happy

\* Albania joined it in February 1949, the GDR in September 1950, Mongolia in July 1962, Cuba in July 1972, and Vietnam in June 1978.

to see Great Britain in the leading role. To strengthen its position as the "leader of the Western world", it called in 1948 for a military alliance to comprise the US, Canada and West-European countries. On April 4, 1949, 12 states (the US, Great Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Iceland, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and Portugal) signed the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington.\* The treaty provided for its signatories to join efforts in the event of an attack on the territory, occupation forces, ships or aircraft of the parties concerned. A "communist threat" was said to justify intervention, including armed intervention, in the affairs of any NATO country. Under the terms of subsequent agreements between the US and other NATO countries, American armed forces could be stationed in any of the member countries. The US began setting up military bases in these countries. NATO proved to be a factor that compounded the international situation for a long time and contributed towards intensifying the Cold War. Indeed, it was used for organising acts of aggression in various parts of the world.

*The German Question.* Germany's destiny became one of the most dramatic and complicated issues in international politics. The Soviet Union advocated a consistent implementation of the programme, drawn up at the Yalta and Potsdam Great-Power Conferences, for Germany's demilitarisation, democratisation and denazification. This programme was materialised in East Germany. Yet, the Western powers—the US, Britain and France—went back, as a matter of fact, on the solution of the German problem and preferred to see the German State divided.

At the sessions of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs in 1947 and 1949, the USSR proposed creating central German administrative bodies, drafting a democratic Constitution for all Germany, making a peace treaty with her without delay, setting up an all-German government and concluding peace with Germany as an integral, democratic and peace-loving state. The Western powers rejected all the constructive proposals of the USSR. On September 7, 1949, they allowed the Federal

\* Turkey and Greece joined NATO in 1952, West Germany in 1955, and Spain in 1982.

Republic of Germany to be declared, thereby bringing off Germany's division and creating a situation fraught with conflict in Europe.

*Asian Countries in International Politics.* Soon after the Second World War, a number of colonies (like India, Indonesia, Indochina, Syria and the Lebanon) gained their independence and international status. The emergent nations were busy resolving their urgent economic and social problems and needed peace. So it was only natural for their foreign policies to be committed to peace and peaceful coexistence with other nations and to oppose the arms race. They set much store by promoting a relationship of friendship and all-round co-operation with the socialist countries. The Soviet Union welcomed the formation of independent states and did all it could to help them consolidate their political independence.

However, the imperialist powers set about suppressing the national liberation movement. Great Britain was breaking up the anti-imperialist forces in India, putting down the national uprisings in Malaya, Burma and its other colonies. France fought a colonial war against the peoples of Indochina (1946-1954), quelled armed rebellions in a number of other dependent territories. The Netherlands, with the aid of other imperialist powers, strove to resubjugate the Indonesian Republic. Belgium and Portugal were cruelly dealing with the nationalist forces in their colonies.

The disintegration of the colonial system sharpened the inter-imperialist struggle. Taking advantage of the weakening of Britain and France, the US went all-out to penetrate their traditional spheres of influence. Close rivalry developed in the Near and Middle East in the early post-war years. Before long, American imperialists succeeded in laying hold on a considerable proportion of the oil resources of that region and knocking Britain and France out of many of their earlier positions. The imperialist-instigated rivalry between Israel and Arab states, which led up to the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948, turned the Middle East into a hotbed of conflict.

*Problems of Peace Settlement in the Far East.* There was a dramatic and conflict situation in the Far East. Militarist Japan's defeat in the Second World War undermined the positions of imperialism in that region.

A democratic peace settlement was an urgent priority. However, the US gave its backing to the reactionary forces in Japan, China and Korea. In December 1945, the Moscow Conference of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs on the Far East created a Far Eastern Commission, with headquarters in Washington, to determine the policy in respect of Japan and to monitor its implementation. Besides, an Allied Consultative Council for Japan was formed of representatives of the four powers in Tokyo. But the US, in fact, imposed its own policy in Japan.

The decisions of the Moscow Conference on Korea and China were of great importance. Its participants agreed to create a provisional democratic all-Korean government and called for China to be reunified and democratised under the control of a national government and for the Civil War to be ended. They found it desirable for Soviet and American armed forces to be pulled out of China within a short space of time. All these decisions met the interests of the peoples of the Far East and the rest of the world and were appreciated by international opinion.

However, no all-Korean democratic government was ever created. Korea was divided into two states. The Soviet Union had evacuated its forces out of Korea by the end of 1948.

A war broke out between the Korean Democratic People's Republic and South Korea in June 1950, with US armed forces and subsequently those of other capitalist countries involved under the UN flag.

Assistance to the KDPR was rendered by the Soviet Union, the PRC and other socialist countries. The USSR tabled a resolution in the Security Council calling for an end to the hostilities and for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea. The armistice negotiations between the governments of the US and the KDPR began on July 10, 1951 and the armistice agreement was signed on July 27, 1953. However, the peace settlement of the Korean issue dragged on for a long time.

The liberation struggle of the Chinese and Korean peoples encouraged the mounting democratic movement in Japan; there was rising public pressure for a peace treaty and for the withdrawal of American troops. A conference

to sign a treaty with Japan met in San Francisco on September 4-8, 1951. It was attended by 51 states. The Soviet Union, though critical of the draft treaty prepared by the US, did take part in the conference. However, the PRC, the KDPR and the DRV were not invited. India and Burma refused to participate in the conference because of what they found to be serious flaws in the draft.

The San Francisco treaty with Japan was signed by 48 states on September 8, 1951. The USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia refused to sign it. The treaty ended the state of war with Japan. The latter recognised the independence of Korea, left her territories in the Pacific under US trusteeship and relinquished the Kuril Islands, South Sakhalin, Taiwan and the Pescadores. The US reserved the right to keep its forces in Japan and install its military bases there. The San Francisco peace treaty and other American-Japanese agreements kept Japan dependent on the US. Yet it vested Japan with certain sovereign rights.

*UN Starting Off.* The United Nations Organisation, an international instrument for the maintenance and consolidation of peace and security and promotion of co-operation among nations, began to function in January 1946. At the first four sessions of its General Assembly (1946 to 1949), the Soviet Union submitted a draft convention prohibiting the production and use of atomic weapons, with an International Control Commission to be established within the framework of the Security Council to carry out inspection of facilities producing fissionable materials; for a general reduction of armaments and the immediate ban on the production and use of atomic weapons; for the prohibition of the propaganda of war and punishment of persons found guilty of conducting such propaganda under criminal law; for the permanent members of the Security Council to reduce their armed forces by one-third within a year; and for a Peace Pact to be concluded by the five Great Powers—Great Britain, China, the USSR, the US and France.

These proposals responded to the interests of all humanity and earned widespread support outside the UN. Pressure from the world community compelled the Western powers to agree to a number of Soviet proposals. For example, a Commission on Atomic Energy was es-

established within the UN framework. In 1946, the General Assembly unanimously approved a resolution calling on the Security Council to work out practical measures for general control and reduction of armed forces and armaments. A resolution condemning war propaganda was approved in 1947.

In subsequent years, socialist countries were tirelessly working for peace and for the relaxation of international tension. At the sessions of the UN General Assembly, the USSR proposed approving a Declaration on the Removal of the Threat of a New War and on the Strengthening of Peace and Security among the Nations (1950), and Measures to Combat the Threat of a New World War and to Strengthen Peace and Friendship among the Nations (1951). Poland submitted a draft resolution on Measures to Avert the Threat of a New World War and to Strengthen Peace and Friendship Among Nations. Although these and many other proposals were not accepted, the peace initiatives launched from the UN podium were taken up by the movement of the masses and became the demand of all workers for peace.

*Upsurge of the International Working-Class, Democratic and Anti-War Movement.* The ending of the Second World War was followed by a mounting international working-class, democratic and anti-war movement. The working class gained in numbers and standards of organisation. It counted upwards of 400 million in the 1950s. The creation of a World Federation of Trade Unions at a Conference in Paris in September-October, 1945, was a major event in international life. It represented 67-million trade unionists from 56 countries. The WFTU Charter listed the maintenance of peace and championship of the economic and social rights of working people, democratic freedoms and social progress as its priorities. However, the right-wing trade union leaders split the WFTU and launched an International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), grouping reformist unions, in December 1949.

Political organisations of the working class resumed or stepped up their activities. By the early 1950s, the Socialist and Social Democratic parties had a total membership of about 10 million, supported by some 35 million voters. Late in 1947, the Social Democratic parties of 33 states

established an International Socialist Advisory Committee (COMISCO).

The force and influence of the world communist movement have grown considerably in the post-war years. Communist parties existed in 76 countries by the end of 1956 and had a total membership of 20 million. In 1950, there were 81 parties with a total of 25 million members. Communist and workers' parties were in the forefront of the battle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. A number of European Communist parties (of the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, France and Italy) created an Information Bureau of the Communist Parties which existed until 1956. It played a definite role in working out the strategy and tactics of Communists in the new conditions. However, the Stalin personality cult produced a negative effect on it, which made itself felt most in respect of the Yugoslav question in 1948.

The growth of general democratic movements contributed towards the creation of such international organisations as the World Federation of Democratic Youth (November 1945) and the Women's International Democratic Federation (December 1945).

The movement for peace emerged and began to spread soon after the war. The World Intellectual Congress for Peace, held in Poland in August 1948, called for a World Congress of the Partisans of Peace to be convened. Such a congress took place in April 1949 simultaneously in Paris and Prague (the French government refused visas to many delegates to the congress, who then gathered in Prague). The Peace Manifesto, adopted at the congress, contained an appeal to all peoples to speak out against war, for strengthening security and international co-operation.

The peace movement quickly encompassed all continents and countries, giving rise to national conferences, committees and other sponsoring organisations everywhere. In March 1950, the Standing Committee of the World Congress of Defenders of Peace in Stockholm adopted an appeal against the threat of atomic war. It urged people of goodwill to speak out for the prohibition of atomic weapons and stringent control over their production, and for whatever government might use them



first to be declared a war criminal. A vigorous campaign to collect signatures to the Stockholm Appeal got under way throughout the world. Five hundred million people signed it by October 1950.

A further impetus to the anti-war movement was given by the Second World Congress of Defenders of Peace which met in Warsaw on November 16-22. It established the World Peace Council which initiated a campaign in February 1951, to collect signatures to an appeal for a Peace Pact by the Five Great Powers. About 600 million signatures were collected throughout the world in less than a year. The Third World Congress of Partisans of Peace in Vienna in December 1952 demanded an end to the wars in Korea, Indochina, and Malaya and once more called for a five-power Peace Pact.

## § 2. Confrontation of the Forces of Progress and Reaction in the Late 1950s and 1960s

*Efforts to Mitigate the Cold War. The Spirit of Geneva.* A possibility for passing over from the Cold War to international detente emerged, in broad outline, by the mid-1950s. In that period, the Soviet Union and other peaceable states took a number of important steps towards settling regional conflicts and normalising international relations. The Conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Four Powers (the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and France) in Berlin in 1954 agreed on a meeting in Geneva in April 1954, to consider a peaceful solution to the Korean issue and the problem of restoring peace to Indochina.

The conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, the PRC, the USA, Great Britain and France began in Geneva on April 26, 1954. Its opening meetings discussed the Korean issue. However, the United States blocked an agreed solution. The consideration of the Indochina question was more successful. It involved the DRV, Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam, in addition to the five states mentioned. The accords on Indochina were signed on July 20, 1954. The hostilities in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos ceased by August 11, and France pledged to withdraw her forces. The DRV and South

Vietnam had a provisional line of demarcation established between them (a little south of the 17th parallel). The conference agreed on free elections to be held in Laos and Cambodia in 1955 and in Vietnam in July 1956. It was decided to carry through a political settlement in Vietnam, assuring its independence, unity and territorial integrity. The accords banned all aid to the militarisation of the Indochina states and their involvement in aggressive alliances.

The drafting of a peace treaty with Austria was completed in the meantime. On May 15, 1955, representatives of the USSR, Great Britain, France, the USA and Austria signed a State Treaty on the Re-establishment of an Independent and Democratic Austria in Vienna. The treaty signified the settlement of one of the important problems unresolved since the end of the war and improved the international situation.

The efforts of the peace forces made it possible to convene a four-power summit meeting to consider further steps towards reducing international tensions. The heads of government of the USSR (Nikolai Bulganin), the USA (Dwight Eisenhower), Great Britain (Anthony Eden) and France (Edgar Faure) met in Geneva from July 18 to 23, 1955. They discussed Germany, security and disarmament. As the German issue came under consideration, the representatives of the USA, Great Britain and France pressed for the GDR to be abolished and absorbed by West Germany and for a reunited Germany to be included in aggressive military blocs. The Soviet representatives could not agree to such a plan. The USSR proceeded from the existence of two sovereign states—the GDR and the FRG—with differing social and economic systems, which could not be united mechanically. Therefore, the Soviet proposals provided for Germany to be reunified by the GDR and the FRG drawing closer stage by stage and developing co-operation, as well as through a relaxation of international tensions.

The German problem was integral to that of a collective security system in Europe. At the Geneva Conference, the USSR called for a General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe to be concluded, with the US participating on equal terms. When it became clear that the Western powers were not ready to sign such a treaty,



the Soviet Union proposed that a treaty should be concluded between the members of the opposing military blocs on renouncing the use of armed strength against each other and on holding mutual consultations in the event of any differences, likely to endanger peace in Europe, arising between them. But that initiative, too, was rejected.

Neither did it prove possible to agree on another major issue—arms reductions and prohibition of atomic weapons. Although no agreement had been achieved on the main points of the agenda at the Geneva Conference, it did have certain positive significance. The four powers suggested that East-West contacts should be increased. The desire, enhanced by the conference, to put an end to the Cold War came to be known as the spirit of Geneva.

The efforts the USSR made towards normalising relations with Japan were perfectly concordant with the spirit of Geneva. Negotiations between the USSR and Japan about the resumption of Soviet-Japanese relations began in 1955, with a joint declaration, signed in October 1956, proclaiming the termination of the state of war between them and the resumption of diplomatic relations. It was decided to continue negotiations for a peace treaty. Yet the peace forces did not succeed in setting international relations on course for detente in the latter half of the 1950s.

*The German Problem Aggravated.* The Soviet Union, seeking a democratic solution to the German problem, called for a peace treaty with Germany to be drafted and for a conference to examine the draft, with the interested countries and representatives of Germany being invited to attend. The Soviet proposals envisaged the formation of a Provisional All-German Government, the holding of free all-German elections and the withdrawal of the occupation forces from the territory of Germany.

The USSR considered the German problem in close association with the issue of collective security in Europe, proposing the conclusion of a General European Treaty on Collective Security which would do away with restricted military alignments in Europe and strengthen security in this region.

The Soviet proposals, however, were rejected by the Western powers which wanted the regime and the

commitments of the FRG extended to all Germany.

While refusing to create a single democratic German state, the Western powers started involving the FRG in their military organisations. The so-called Paris Agreements were drafted at a conference of nine West-European powers in London and by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Paris and signed on October 23, 1954. They resulted essentially in making West Germany and Italy parties to the Western European Union, the FRG getting the right to create its own army, 500,000-strong, and build up its armaments, the armed forces of the members of the Union, West Germany included, uniting to form a single West-European Army with a High Command under NATO, and West Germany being allowed to enter NATO.

The Paris Agreements did much to aggravate the international situation. The socialist countries declared that they would take immediate steps to strengthen their defence capability once the Paris Agreements were ratified. On June 27, 1957, the government of the GDR put forward the idea of creating a German Confederation as a voluntary and equal alliance of the GDR and the FRG. This confederation could sign a peace treaty and pursue a common policy on a number of international issues as well as in certain matters relating to the political and economic life of the two German states, thereby making for their closer relationship. The socialist countries seconded the proposal of the GDR. However, the government of the FRG flatly opposed the idea of a confederation, as did other Western states.

In the autumn of 1958, the Soviet Union came forward with a proposal to normalise the situation in West Berlin, providing for the outdated regime of foreign military occupation to be ended and for West Berlin to be made a free demilitarized city. In the obtaining conditions, such a solution would have responded to the interests of peace and security of the two German states and European security in general. On November 10, 1959, the USSR came forward once again with a draft German peace treaty incorporating the proposals on West Berlin. The draft provided for a peace conference to be called to frame and sign a German peace treaty. But it proved impossible to come to terms with the Western powers.

By opposing a democratic and peaceful solution of the German question on a sound basis, the Western powers vitiated the situation in Central Europe in the early 1960s. In those circumstances, the socialist countries had to see to their security. On August 13, 1961, the government of the GDR put up a wall along the border with West Berlin and established stringent frontier control. Germany remained divided.

*The Warsaw Treaty Organisation Created.* The efforts made in the latter half of the 1950s to end the Cold War brought no success. Soon after the ratification of the Paris Agreements, the socialist countries met for a conference in Warsaw on May 11-14, 1955. Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the USSR concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance on May 14, 1955, with a view to ensuring their security, keeping the peace in Europe and promoting friendship and co-operation. The parties to the Warsaw Treaty undertook to refrain from the use or threat of force in international relations. They spoke out for resolving their disputes by peaceful means, contributing towards international co-operation and pressing for concrete measures to be adopted for a general arms reduction and the prohibition of the weapons of mass destruction.

There was an important commitment by all the parties to the treaty to accord immediate aid by all possible means, including the use of armed force, to any one or several of them in the event of an attack. A Unified Military Command and a Political Consultative Committee were created. Along with that, there was a provision for building up economic and cultural links. The pact, concluded for a term of 20 years, was open to any nation. The treaty strengthened the defence capability of the socialist countries.

The continued consolidation of the socialist countries was a factor of tremendous importance.

*The Bandung Conference.* The emergent nations were playing an increasingly great role in international affairs. In the latter half of the 1950s, they worked hard to build up their bonds of friendship with the socialist countries. The USSR considerably enlarged its economic and financial aid to the emergent nations, thereby helping them

strengthen their political independence and economic self-reliance. In the meantime, the United States and its allies were not desisting from their attempts to involve the countries of Asia in their military blocs. A South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), a military bloc of eight states—the USA, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan—was created under US auspices in 1954. Its object was to suppress the national liberation movement in the countries of Asia and to bolster up their reactionary regimes. Imperialist states were out to establish military blocs in the countries of the Near and Middle East as well. In 1955, Great Britain succeeded in setting up the so-called Baghdad Pact (Great Britain, Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq and Iran) to pool the military efforts of the five countries in action against the liberation movement.

The peace-loving nations strongly denounced SEATO and the Baghdad Pact.

A conference of 29 nations of Asia and Africa met in Bandung (Indonesia), from April 18 to 24, 1955, to assert the principles of peaceful coexistence in their international relations. It was attended by Burma, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Ceylon, the PRC, Egypt, Syria, Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, Cambodia, Laos, the DRV and other nations. Most of the participants spoke out for the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The conference adopted the Concluding Communiqué which referred to the need to promote all-round economic and cultural co-operation between the countries of Asia and Africa. It issued a message of solidarity with the national liberation movement, condemned racialism and colonialism, and supported the proposals for disarmament and for the prohibition of the production, testing and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

The Declaration on World Peace and Co-operation contained an appeal for easing international tensions and promoting international co-operation. The conference proclaimed every nation's right to choose its social system and way of life. The Bandung Conference was one of great importance for rallying the nations of Asia and Africa in their struggle against imperialism, and for asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states.

The response of the world's reactionary forces to the consolidation of those of national liberation was military threats and undisguised acts of aggression, witness the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt in 1956. In reply to the decision of the government of Egypt to nationalise the Suez Canal Company, imperialist powers incited Israel to attack Egypt on October 29, 1956. On August 31, Egypt was bombed by British and French aircraft. The aggression was denounced by all peace forces. The UN General Assembly passed a resolution to demand an immediate cease-fire by all the parties involved in the hostilities. The determined protest of the peace forces compelled the aggressors to stop their combat operations.

In the summer of 1958, the US occupied Lebanon, while Britain occupied Jordan to suppress the national liberation movement. However, the Arab peoples repelled those acts of aggression.

*The War in Vietnam.* Serious negative trends developed along with positive ones in the world socialist system in the 1960s. On the one hand, that was a period that saw economic, political and ideological co-operation between the socialist countries make further headway. The USSR concluded new or prolonged the earlier treaties of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance with a number of socialist countries. The Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation met at regular intervals to work out and concert the socialist countries' stand on major problems of international relations.

The victory of a popular revolution in Cuba (1959) was a great event in international life. That was the first socialist state ever to appear in America.

Yet, along with that, the world of socialism faced its own problems and difficulties. In the late 1950s and in the early 1960s, the People's Republic of China and then Albania gave up friendly and allied relations with the USSR and some other socialist countries. Ideological differences went far towards impairing international relations.

In the late 1950s and in the early 1960s, the Soviet Union once again made an attempt to ease international tensions. In 1959, the Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, met with President Eisenhower at Camp David, outside

Washington. The talks between them inspired hope for a relaxation of international tensions. However, on May 1, 1960, an American military aircraft, piloted by Gary Powers, invaded Soviet air space upwards of 2,000 kilometres deep for intelligence gathering. It was brought down by Soviet missiles. That act of provocation frustrated the projected four-power summit. Nevertheless, in June 1961, Nikita Khrushchev met the new US President, John Kennedy in Vienna and informed him of Soviet proposals for improving Soviet-American relations and settling urgent international problems.

Yet there was no change for the better in the international situation in the 1960s, witness the dramatic Caribbean crisis which was effectively resolved, however, due to the responsible approach and common sense shown by Nikita Khrushchev, John Kennedy, Fidel Castro and other leaders involved in that decision-making.

Since the opening of 1965, the US launched a full-scale war against the peoples of Indochina. It had brought the strength of its forces in South Vietnam up to 500,000 men by the end of 1967. The US strove to draw other countries into that aggression. South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, New Zealand and Australia dispatched their military contingents to Vietnam. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, relying as they did on support and assistance from the socialist countries, waged a stout battle against the US armies and the troops of the South Vietnam regime.

The war in Vietnam brought no victory to the aggressors. On May 13, 1968, the United States had to agree to quadripartite talks about a peaceful settlement in Vietnam, which opened in Paris early in 1969, bringing together representatives of the DRV, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the US and the Saigon regime. An agreement to end the war was signed in Paris on January 27, 1973. It was followed up before long by the Laos Peace Agreement. An international conference on Vietnam in Paris (February 26-March 2, 1973) adopted an act recognising the national rights of the Vietnamese people: independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity as well as the right of the people of South Vietnam to self-determination. The victory of the Vietnamese people was a factor of tremendous international importance.

*The Rising Role of the Developing Countries in International Relations. Regional Conflicts of the 1960s.* The role of the developing nations in world politics continued to grow in the 1960s. Many of them conducted a policy of neutrality or non-alignment. The 1961 Belgrade Conference launched an organised Non-Aligned Movement. Its meetings in 1961 and 1964 determined the basic priorities in the struggle of the developing nations for peace, against imperialism and colonialism, for disarmament and co-operation.

Mutually advantageous economic relations were developing between the socialist countries and emergent nations. The USSR rendered great assistance to those countries in their economic development, granting them credits on easy terms, giving them free aid, helping them construct major industrial projects, and promoting cultural, scientific and technological co-operation with them. Other socialist countries made common cause with the Soviet Union, helping consolidate the independence of the developing nations.

The conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir posed a grave danger to peace. There were combat operations between them in August and September 1965. Relations between the two countries worsened again in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. On December 3-17, 1971, Pakistani troops attacked India. Indian forces then assisted the East Bengal population who proclaimed the sovereignty of their country—Bangladesh.

The situation in the Middle East remained involved and tense. On June 5, 1967, Israeli forces carried out a surprise strike at the Egyptian Air Force, thereby starting another war against Arab states. Having lost a large proportion of their aircraft, the Egyptian army failed to maintain defence and had to retreat. The Soviet Union came forward with a solemn warning that unless Israel immediately stopped military operations she would apply sanctions against it, in conjunction with other peace-loving nations, with all the consequences Israel would have to face. Many socialist countries severed their diplomatic relations with Israel. The adamant and resolute position of those countries had a sobering-up effect on the Israeli military. The hostilities were stopped on June 10. In the course of the third war, Israel captured the Golan

Strip and almost the whole of the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank of the Jordan and the Syrian Golan Heights.

The UN Security Council, in a resolution of November 22, 1967 on the Middle East, demanded the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, the termination of the state of belligerency, respect for, and recognition of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all the countries of the region, their right to live at peace and within secure borders, safeguards for the freedom of navigation through international waterways, and a fair settlement of the Palestinian refugee problem. The Arab states and all of the world's progressive forces pressed for the UN resolutions to be enforced.

A seat of tension remained in Cyprus even after Great Britain had to recognise its independence in 1960.

African nations kept on fighting for independence and sovereignty. The people of Namibia rose against the South African colonisers in 1968; those of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau fought against Portuguese colonial rule.

*The Battle for Disarmament.* The 1950s and 1960s saw peace-loving nations and peoples step up their efforts to bring about progress towards disarmament and international security. Many initiatives in this sphere were taken by the Soviet Union. On November 17, 1956, the USSR came forward with a proposal for the five major powers to cut their armed forces. It called for an immediate end to the testing of nuclear weapons and for a subsequent ban on their production, development and use, and also for the destruction of their stockpiles within two years. On April 30, 1957, the USSR tabled a proposal for piecemeal measures for disarmament. The states in possession of nuclear weapons were invited to pledge not to use them and, notably, to stop or suspend their testing. The Soviet proposals received widespread support from the peace-loving sections of world public opinion. On April 2, 1957, the World Peace Council published an Appeal for an end to nuclear weapon tests as harmful to millions of human beings.

At the 14th General Assembly in 1959, the Soviet Union tabled a Declaration on General and Complete



Disarmament by all nations. The Declaration called for disbanding the land armies, navies and air forces, abolishing the general staffs and military training establishments, scrapping atomic and hydrogen bombs and military rockets as well as chemical and bacteriological weapons. The states were to keep skeleton contingents of police equipped with small arms essential for the maintenance of the public order.

The Soviet programme for general and complete disarmament earned widespread support. The government of the United States decided to co-sponsor an appropriate General Assembly resolution. The 14th General Assembly adopted only a general resolution approving of the idea of general and complete disarmament, without adopting a concrete plan. All the proposals were referred to the Disarmament Committee comprising ten nations (the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, the USA, Great Britain, France, Italy and Canada).

The Soviet government brought the Basic Principles of a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament and a number of other proposals (notably, one for enlarging the Disarmament Committee) before the 15th General Assembly which opened on September 20, 1960. At its 16th session, in September 1961, the General Assembly voted to bring 8 non-aligned states (India, Burma, Brazil, Mexico, Sweden, South Africa, Ethiopia and Nigeria) into the Disarmament Committee; it passed a Resolution on Consideration of Africa as a Denuclearised Zone and a Declaration on the Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear and Thermonuclear Weapons.

An important objective to achieve in working for disarmament was that of ending the tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Action by peace forces compelled a partial nuclear test ban. A Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water was signed between the governments of the USSR, the USA and Great Britain in Moscow on August 5, 1963. Upwards of a hundred nations acceded to the treaty within a short space of time. The conclusion of the Moscow Treaty was a factor of tremendous international importance for strengthening peace and saving mankind from the injurious radioactive fall-out from nuclear explosions.

On October 17, 1963, the General Assembly adopted a

resolution, on a Soviet initiative, whereby the USSR and the USA pledged "not to station in outer space any objects carrying nuclear weapons or other kinds of weapons of mass destruction". On June 12, 1968, the General Assembly approved a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, based on Soviet proposals. The nuclear powers undertook not to pass such weapons or control thereof over to countries which had none. The states possessing no nuclear weapons pledged not to accept or acquire such weapons, neither seek nor accept aid in producing them. The treaty committed all of its signatories to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Nearly a hundred states had acceded to the treaty by early 1970.

In March 1969, the Soviet government came forward with a draft treaty on prohibition of emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and ocean floor and in subsoil thereof for military ends. An agreed draft was approved by the General Assembly on December 7, 1970; 67 states signed the treaty in 1971.

*Efforts for Peace and Social Progress.* The struggle between the forces of peace and war, progress and reaction sharpened in the years of the Cold War. The Communist and workers' parties were, as ever, playing the leading role in safeguarding peace and promoting social progress. After the Information Bureau was dissolved, the world's Communists held international, regional and bilateral meetings. The International Meeting of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in November 1957 adopted a Peace Manifesto which specified the objectives to achieve in opposing the war danger, above all, the threat of nuclear war. A Declaration signed by 12 Communist parties of socialist countries contained theoretical and policy guidelines on working for peace, democracy, national freedom and socialism.

A further international meeting of Communist and workers' parties, attended by representatives of 81 parties, met in Moscow in November 1960. Its documents—the Declaration and the Appeal to the Peoples of the World—underlined the paramount importance of the struggle for peace and for the prevention of a thermonuclear holocaust. The conference analysed the major

strategic priorities and tactics of the principal contingents of the world communist movement.

The Conference of 75 Communist and workers' parties, held in Moscow in June 1969, was a great event in international life. It discussed the objectives of resisting imperialism and the unity of action by Communist and workers' parties and of all progressive forces. The conference put forward a concrete platform of struggle, giving top priority to all-round support for the Vietnamese people in resisting the American aggression. However, the activities of the Communist and workers' parties in the 1950s and 1960s were hampered by serious infighting.

There were positive changes in the activities of Socialist and Social Democratic parties. They formed a Socialist International at their congress in Frankfurt on the Main in 1951. It comprised 34 parties with an aggregate membership of about 10 million, predominantly from Western Europe. In 1952, the Socialist parties of Asian countries set up their own organisation, the Asian Socialist Conference (600,000 members). From the latter half of the 1950s, the Socialist International began adopting resolutions at its congresses in favour of international détente, disarmament, elimination of the colonial system and the creation of a system of collective security. The Social Democrats played quite an important part in ending the war and bringing about a peace settlement in Vietnam.

The role of the international trade union, women's and youth movements rose during that period. The WFTU spoke out for peace and disarmament, against colonialism, and for a higher standard of living for working people, and pressed for united action by trade unions of different affiliations. The ICFTU became more vocal in the 1960s in speaking out for the social and economic demands of working people, for peace and disarmament, against reaction and aggression. A similar line was followed by the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (from 1968, the World Confederation of Labour). The ICFTU and the WFTU tended towards unity of the international trade union movement.

The peace movement gained in scope as well. The peace forces went on pressing for the prohibition of atomic weapons and for disarmament. In the early half of the 1950s, they carried through sweeping campaigns for an

end to the aggression in Korea. At the World Peace Assembly in Helsinki in 1955, exponents of different political views and convictions worked out general recommendations for relieving international tensions. There were mammoth "peace marches" in Japan, Britain, the FRG, the United States and other countries. The first annual International Conference for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons was held in Hiroshima, Japan, on August 6, 1955. Peace activists spoke up against such concrete acts as the British-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt in 1956. The World Congress for Disarmament and International Co-operation in Stockholm (1958) denounced the Anglo-American aggression against Lebanon and Jordan. Personalities of the scientific community and the world of culture were getting increasingly active in the peace movement. The first conference of scientists for peace, disarmament, international security and scientific co-operation and for the prevention of a world thermonuclear war (the Pugwash Movement) took place in Pugwash, Canada, in July 1957.

There was an increasingly manifest trend in the peace movement of the 1960s to link pressure for general and complete disarmament with the demand for the abolition of colonialism. The World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, meeting in Moscow in the summer of 1962, set the objectives of the movement for disarmament and national independence.

In the latter half of the 1960s, the efforts of the peace activists were directed towards ending the American aggression in Vietnam. That was the aim of the anti-war conferences in Delhi and Hanoi in 1964. An international Week of Action in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people was held in May 1965. A World Congress for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament met in Helsinki in July 1965. It centred on denouncing the American aggression in Vietnam. There were also other international fora, some held in Stockholm, in support of the Vietnamese people.

Along with that, the peace activists were working for European security and speaking out against further acts of aggression by Israel against Arab nations. The World Peace Assembly in Berlin in June 1969 called for more solidarity with the Vietnamese and Arab peoples, and for



disarmament. The peace movement was developing into an increasingly influential force in international relations.

### § 3. International Detente in the 1970s

*Committed to Detente.* Conditions for a major change in the international situation began to take shape in the latter half of the 1960s and in the early 1970s.

The consistent efforts of the peace forces for implanting the principles of peaceful coexistence led to a switch-over from the Cold War to international detente in the 1970s.

The first moves towards international detente had been made back in the mid-1960s in Soviet-French relations. A mutual intention to seek international detente was expressed during the visit of President de Gaulle of France to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1966. Important international documents promoting the relaxation of world tensions were signed during the visits of Soviet and French top leaders in the 1960s and 1970s.

The incipient process of normalization of Soviet-American relations was of major importance for international detente. A number of agreements essential for resolving the problem of limiting the arms race were signed between the USA and the USSR in the early 1970s, and steps were taken to promote Soviet-American co-operation in different areas. However, there were influential forces in the USA which sought to stop this process gaining ground.

With the growth of the forces of peace and socialism, a turn towards finding positive solutions to urgent international problems developed in the foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany. In the early 1970s, the Government of the FRG, in a number of international instruments, acknowledged the necessity of respect for the territorial integrity of all states in Europe within their current borders, renounced territorial claims to whosoever at present and in the future, spoke up for the inviolability of the existing frontiers of all nations in Europe and settled its relations with the USSR, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia, having signed appropriate treaties with them. On September 3, 1971, the Soviet Union, the

United States, Great Britain and France signed an agreement on West Berlin, taking into account the sovereign rights of the GDR. All that was of great importance for strengthening European and international security.

Certain progress was made in the relations of the socialist countries with Great Britain. The links that the socialist countries had with Italy were appreciably increased. Their relations with Japan improved considerably. Friendship and co-operation between the USSR and Finland made steady headway, economic and political links of the USSR and other socialist countries with Austria were expanding, and trading and economic relations with Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg and Iceland advanced by leaps and bounds. Soviet-Portuguese relations were restored, and those between the USSR and Greece improved. That is to say, considerable success was gained in asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence of nations with differing social systems.

*European Conference on Security and Co-operation.* The efforts in behalf of European security and co-operation were a prominent factor in international relations. The Warsaw Treaty countries formulated a programme and principles of European security in 1966-1972, and framed concrete proposals for the agenda of an all-European conference. Multilateral consultations of representatives of the countries of Europe as well as the United States and Canada began in the capital of Finland on November 22, 1972, to draw up recommendations for convening and holding an all-European conference.

The improved international atmosphere made it possible to hold the first stage of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on July 3-7, 1973, in Helsinki, which was attended by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of 33 European countries, as well as the United States and Canada. They approved recommendations for the agenda, procedure and other matters relating to the conference. The agenda comprised: 1) questions relating to security in Europe; 2) co-operation in the field of the economy, science and technology and the environment; 3) co-operation in humanitarian and other fields; 4) further moves after the conference. The central item

before the conference was the Soviet Union's draft General Declaration on the Foundations of European Security and the Principles of Relations Between States in Europe. Representatives of the GDR and Hungary tabled a draft joint statement on the development of co-operation in the field of the economy, trade, science and technology, as well as in environmental protection. Poland and Bulgaria came forward with a draft document on the basic areas of development of cultural co-operation, contacts and exchange of information. A representative of Czechoslovakia proposed a draft document on a consultative committee on security and co-operation in Europe. Representatives of the FRG, Denmark, Great Britain, Italy, and France made proposals of their own.

The working groups of the second stage of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe went into session in Geneva on September 18, 1973. A large amount of positive work was done at that stage, although some Western delegations moved what were manifestly unacceptable proposals. The third, concluding stage of the conference took place at summit level in Helsinki on July 30-August 1, 1975. The Final Act, signed by the heads of government, sealed the results of the Second World War and determined the principles of relations between states, including those of respect for independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, renunciation of the use or threat of force, non-intervention in each other's internal affairs. In that way, the parties to the Conference dissociated themselves from the Cold War and recognised the principles of peaceful coexistence as basic to international relations. The conference opened up favourable opportunities for broadening mutually beneficial economic, scientific, technological, cultural and other co-operation, free from all discrimination, between the nations of Europe.

The Helsinki Conference was an event of tremendous international importance. It made for a further relaxation of tensions. At the Belgrade follow-up meeting of 35 nations (1977-1978), the Soviet delegation proposed adding political to military detente, concluding a treaty not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, not

enlarging the military blocs, not holding military exercises exceeding a certain strength limit (50,000-60,000), notifying about projected military exercises, and inviting observers to watch them, and extending the military confidence-building measures to the Mediterranean.

The American delegation tried to reduce the deliberations of the Belgrade meeting to a propaganda exercise in "defence of human rights" so as to meddle in the affairs of the socialist countries. That attempt was defeated by the socialist countries. The meeting ended in adopting a document about the determination of the parties concerned to honour all the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. Shortly afterwards, the parties involved in the process of all-European security and co-operation held a number of important meetings and activities agreed on in Belgrade.

*Efforts for Peace and Security in the Near and Middle East.* The problem of preserving peace and security in Asia, notably, in the Near and Middle East, remained one of those considered central to international relations. The situation there remained explosive. Israel, by its unending acts of provocation, kept up and intensified tension in the region. On October 6, 1973, it launched the fourth war of aggression against Arab states. The Security Council Resolution of October 22 called for an immediate cease-fire and for the parties concerned to negotiate a fair and lasting peace in the Middle East. A further escalation of the armed conflict was stopped due to determined action by peace forces.

A Middle East peace conference, involving representatives of Egypt, Jordan and Israel, as well as the USSR and the USA, opened in Geneva on December 21, 1973. However, its deliberations were virtually frustrated by Israel. All it produced were a few piecemeal decisions: on the disengagement of armed forces involved in the conflict and the evacuation by Israel of a large area seized by its troops in October 1973 and, partly, in June 1967.

The Soviet Union proposed pulling Israeli troops out from all the Arab lands captured by them in 1967, resuming the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, with representatives of the Palestinian people partici-

pating with full rights, ensuring the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, up to and including the right to their own statehood, as well as the independent and sovereign existence of all the states of the Middle East, including Israel. This programme had the growing support of the world community.

In the late 1970s, the Egyptian government under Anwar Sadat concluded separate agreements with Israel and the USA. In accordance with them, Israel withdrew its forces from the Sinai Peninsula. Other problems of the Arab-Israeli conflict were not resolved. That was a sell-out by the Sadat government, which was denounced by most Arab countries and the PLO and also by socialist nations.

The situation in the Middle East was strained again in the latter half of the 1970s. Domestic and international forces of reaction launched an undeclared war against Afghanistan after the victory of the national democratic revolution there in 1978. The government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan under Babrak Karmal, which took office in December 1979, asked the USSR to bring a limited Soviet army contingent into Afghanistan. The armed forces of the DRA and Soviet units had to wage a long and hard battle against the internal and external opponents of revolutionary rule. The Soviet forces were withdrawn from Afghanistan by February 15, 1989, under an agreement between the USSR and the USA, making them guarantors of non-intervention in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

An anti-imperialist and anti-monarchist revolution broke out in Iran in 1978-1979. It resulted in bringing down the Shah's regime. On April 1, 1979, Iran was declared an Islamic Republic. However, the right-wing Muslim elements set about straining relations with neighbouring countries. A senseless war between Iran and Iraq, which came to be known as the Gulf War, went on from September 1980 until the late autumn of 1988.

The situation in Cyprus and around it worsened again in the mid-1970s. On July 15, 1974, some units of the Cypriot National Guard, on a signal from the Greek fascist junta, rose up in arms to overthrow the government of President Makarios and bring off the "enosis" (union) of Cyprus with Greece. That coup did much to strain the

situation in the Eastern Mediterranean. Turkish troops began landing in Cyprus on July 20. Heavy fighting ensued. Greece immediately declared an all-out mobilisation and moved its forces towards the frontiers of Turkey.

The Security Council, meeting on July 20, supported the legitimate Government of Makarios and demanded an end to the foreign armed intervention in the affairs of that state. Greece and Turkey ceased the hostilities on the island. But the situation in Cyprus remained extremely tense.

The advancing process of international detente and national liberation movements struck at the positions of some military-political alignments. The South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) ceased to exist on July 30, 1977, and so did the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) in 1979. More contradictions developed in other alignments—ASEAN and ANZUS.

*Efforts for Disarmament.* International detente produced fresh opportunities for advancing the cause of disarmament. In the 1970s, the UN adopted a number of important resolutions for ensuring peace and international security, and for limiting the arms race. A Convention on the Prohibition and Destruction of Bacteriological Weapons was approved by the UN and signed in 1972.

The USSR put forward a series of peace initiatives at the General Assembly sessions in the latter half of the 1970s. These included the proposals for concluding a treaty on the general and complete banning of nuclear weapons tests (1975); prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction (1975); concluding a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations (1976); a memorandum on the cessation of the nuclear arms race and disarmament (1976); a statement on reconstruction of international economic relations (1976); the deepening and consolidation of international detente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war (1977); on the full eradication of the vestiges of colonialism, racism and apartheid (1977); for concluding an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear states (1978), etc. Many of

these proposals gained support and were approved by most of the delegations to the UN General Assembly.

The major issue connected with the problem of disarmament was that of reducing the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Negotiations of representatives of 19 nations began in Vienna on October 30, 1973, following preliminary consultations.\* Socialist states proposed reducing both foreign and national armed forces on the territories of the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg, and also cutting conventional as well as nuclear armaments. However, the Western countries dragged out achievement of accords, claiming that socialist countries had superior armed forces in Central Europe. Moreover, in 1979, the NATO countries decided, under US pressure, to have 572 American intermediate-range nuclear missiles stationed in Western Europe. This exacerbated the situation in Europe, undermined the process of detente and impeded agreement at the Vienna talks.

*Working-Class, Democratic and Anti-War Movement in the Years of International Detente.* In the 1970s, the working class was in action for its vital interests, against unemployment and inflation. At the same time, it was involved in efforts to ease international tensions, backed up the process of promoting security and co-operation in Europe and strove for a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts. The Communist and workers' parties held international conferences and meetings on theoretical questions. A conference of 29 Communist and workers' parties of Europe, which was held in Berlin on June 29-30, 1976, played an appreciable part in the struggle for the relaxation of international tensions. It discussed and adopted a document, For Peace, Security, Co-operation and Social Progress in Europe. Further headway was made by the regional meetings and conferences of the Communist and workers' parties (of the socialist countries, Western Europe, Latin America, the Arab world, and Africa).

The Socialist International became more active in

\* The USSR, Poland, the GDR, ČSSR, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, the USA, Great Britain, the FRG, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Italy, Turkey, Greece, Norway, Denmark.

working for peace and disarmament. It supported the recognition of the territorial and political realities in Europe, the all-European process, the normalisation of Soviet-American relations, and went on record against the acts of aggression in Indochina and in the Middle East. Social Democrats appealed for nuclear disarmament and for the promotion of peaceful East-West relations. There were more contacts and co-operation between Communists and Social Democrats in the interest of peace and social progress. A Soviet delegation participated in the Socialist International's Conference on Disarmament in Helsinki in 1978. The Socialist International set up a working group on disarmament.

The period of detente contributed towards the development of unitarian processes in the world trade union movement. The WFTU's dialogue with the WCL and the ICFTU widened. Representatives of different trade union centres were more and more often taking part in international trade union congresses. All the three world trade union centres were speaking out for peace, disarmament and against colonialism.

Progressive sections of world opinion and the peace movement played a growing role in the struggle for peace and international detente. A World Congress of Peace Forces met in Moscow from October 25 to 31, 1973. It was attended by upwards of 3,000 delegates, observers and guests from 143 countries. The congress set up 14 special commissions which discussed a wide range of current international problems and drafted proposals for strengthening peace and international security. A World Forum of Peace Forces took place in Moscow from January 14 to 16, 1977. It brought together envoys of 220 national organisations from 115 countries and representatives of 70 international organisations. The forum demonstrated the increased role of the masses, their organisations and political parties in action for peace.

In the 1970s, the peace-loving nations and forces made notable headway in safeguarding peace, implanting the principles of peaceful coexistence of nations and easing international tensions.



#### § 4. Efforts for International Security in the 1980s

*Survival Is Central to All Humanity.* There was a sharpening struggle in international relations at the turn of the 1980s between two trends—the course of socialism for curbing the arms race, strengthening peace and detente, and defending the sovereign rights and freedoms of the peoples, and that of imperialism for undermining detente, intensifying the arms race, conducting a policy of intimidation and intervention in the affairs of other nations, and suppressing the liberation struggle. At the same time, the growing integrity and interdependence of the world became increasingly obvious.

The peace initiatives of the USSR in that period came up against American resistance. The US Administration kept on building up the arms drive, seeking to take it a stage ahead as was patently demonstrated by its plans to militarise space. The growing danger of a world thermonuclear war brought humanity face to face with the dramatic problem of preserving civilisation and survival of humanity, indeed, life itself on this planet. Not only the public but also the governing quarters of many nations were increasingly aware that humanity needed a new kind of political thinking in international relations to meet the challenge of the nuclear and space age.

The problem of ensuring international security moved into the foreground as a top priority for all nations and peoples. The 27th Congress of the CPSU, held in 1986, put forward the concept of new political thinking and a programme for creating an all-embracing system of international security. At the same time, the Soviet Government came out with a whole series of important foreign policy initiatives. The ideas of ensuring international security and a new mode of thinking for the salvation of human civilisation gained widespread support all over the world.

*Socialism and Emergent Countries.* Democratic change was gaining ground in Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Nicaragua in the 1980s. The national forces of Zimbabwe achieved success in 1980, declaring a sovereign republic.

More independent states appeared in Oceania. A coup in Sudan in April 1985 put an end to a reactionary regime. Socialist states were as committed as ever to promoting co-operation with the emergent nations and strengthening the alliance of world socialism and the national liberation movement.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries rendered assistance to the developing nations in upholding their freedom and independence, joined efforts in seeking a peaceful settlement of the conflict situations, and worked for peace and disarmament. The countries of the socialist community stood for an equitable and peaceful resolution of the Middle East crisis. While denouncing and opposing Israel's policy of aggression, they acted in solidarity with the Arab peoples fighting for freedom and social progress, and supported the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the Palestinian people's right to their own statehood.

Socialist countries emphatically condemned Israel's war of aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian patriots in the summer of 1982, and imperatively called for it to be stopped and for the Israeli troops to leave the Lebanese territory. They consistently spoke up for the ending of the American intervention in the affairs of Lebanon and denounced the US aggression against that country in 1983-1984.

The socialist community pressed for a peaceful settlement of other conflict situations—around Afghanistan and in the Persian Gulf zone, the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, and the relations of the countries of Indochina with neighbouring states. Socialist countries demonstrated their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Ethiopia and Angola, Nicaragua and El Salvador, and the national liberation forces of Namibia and South Africa. Steady headway was made in bilateral relations between the socialist and developing nations. Socialism was invariably at the side of the Non-Aligned Movement, supporting its demand for the establishment of a New International Economic Order. All that strengthened the positions of the partisans of an all-embracing system of international security.

*A Futile Drive of Reactionary Forces for Anti-Detente.* Opponents of detente and of improved relations

with the USSR and other socialist nations became more active in the early 1980s.

Western militarist elements made great efforts to undercut the policy of peaceful coexistence of states, put international relations back on the track of anti-detente and heighten tension.

Military spending in the capitalist countries was soaring. The governing quarters of those countries formulated military doctrines dangerous for the cause of peace (those of the first nuclear strike, "limited" or "protracted" nuclear war). All that went far towards aggravating the international situation.

The socialist and most of the developing nations were putting up stiff resistance to the policy of anti-detente and upholding the policy of peaceful coexistence and international security. The development of Soviet-American relations, a major factor behind the international situation, featured prominently in world politics. Soviet-American talks on medium-range nuclear systems began in 1981, and those on strategic arms limitation and reduction, in 1982.

But the US Administration in every way obstructed the negotiations in Geneva and eventually broke them off by starting to deploy Pershing-2s and cruise missiles in Western Europe late in 1983.

A turn for the better in the development of the international situation appeared to gain ground since about the mid-1980s. The Soviet Union, acting as it did from a position of new political thinking, came up with major initiatives for nuclear disarmament and international security.

Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons got under way in Geneva in March 1985, on the proposal of the USSR.

That checked a further straining of Soviet-American relations. The meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, with President Ronald Reagan in Geneva in November 1985 was a major landmark, demonstrating the possibility of normalising the situation in the world and relations between the two countries. In October 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev met with Ronald Reagan in Reykjavik where they came near to achieving major accords on nuclear

disarmament. A historic treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles was signed during Gorbachev's visit to Washington in December 1987. President Reagan made an official visit to the USSR in late May-early June 1988, for talks on issues related to the drafting of a strategic offensive arms reduction treaty.

Contacts between the top leaders of the socialist and capitalist states of Europe continued, as did multilateral meetings and conferences. The Madrid follow-up meeting of 35 nations, which went on from 1981 to 1983, ended successfully, and so did the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, which was held from 1984 to 1986. European co-operation was advancing in the economic and other areas. Negotiations went on in Vienna about the reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe.

There was a Vienna Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe from 1986 to 1988. Conditions were created for a start to be made in negotiations for a reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments and for confidence- and security-building measures in Europe, which began in 1989. Since March 1985, Soviet-American negotiations have been conducted in Geneva on the reduction of strategical nuclear weapons and the non-militarisation of space. Serious work has been accomplished to prepare a treaty on a 50 per cent reduction of strategical offensive weapons by the USSR and the USA. The Soviet Union also came out with a number of important initiatives on restructuring relations in the Asian-Pacific region. Negotiations were also conducted on a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts (the Near East, Southeast Asia, the South of Africa, Central America, etc.), on banning and eliminating chemical weapons, on banning nuclear tests, etc. All that attested to basic changes in East-West relations. The trend for peace and international security was prevailing over that of tension and anti-detente.

*Opposing the Arms Race.* The arms race, which cost upwards of 600,000 million dollars a year around the world in the early 1980s, was not only a heavy burden for the nations to bear but a threat to peace as well. That is why all peace forces were pressing hard for



disarmament and for arms limitation and reduction. The United Nations General Assembly held its first Special Session on Disarmament in 1978, the second in 1982, and the third, in 1988. In 1982, the USSR announced its pledge not to use nuclear weapons first and submitted a memorandum, *Averting the Nuclear Threat and Curbing the Arms Race* which contained a programme for arms limitation and reduction. At the subsequent sessions of the UN General Assembly, the Soviet Union came out with a number of important peace initiatives: for the immediate cessation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests (1982), condemnation of nuclear war; nuclear arms freeze; a treaty prohibiting the use of force in outer space and from outer space in respect of the Earth (1983); on the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind (1984); international co-operation in the peaceful exploration of outer space in conditions of its non-militarisation (1985); on the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security (1985 and 1987). The Soviet initiatives earned the support of most of the UN delegations.

The USSR and other socialist countries made considerable efforts to work out measures for preventing nuclear war. On January 15, 1986, the USSR put forward a full-scale programme for the elimination of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons by 2000.

Great attention was given in that period to the issues relating to the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons, termination of all nuclear tests, extending confidence-building measures, etc.

Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in the UN on December 7, 1988, was yet another major initiative. He announced that the Soviet Union had decided to cut the strength of its armed forces by 500,000 men in two years. It put forward further proposals in 1989 for the reduction and elimination of battlefield nuclear weapons.

*International Working-Class, Democratic and Anti-War Movement in the 1980s.* Working people reacted to the offensive of capital and the growth of the war danger in the early 1980s with mass action of an economic as well as political character. Many activities

were directed not only towards defending their social and economic rights but also against the peril of neo-fascism, extremism and acts of terrorism. Workers were increasingly active in the anti-war movement as well as in the drive against environmental pollution.

In the face of mounting international tensions, the world communist movement (there were upwards of 80 million Communists in 95 countries in 1985) stepped up its efforts against the growing danger of thermo-nuclear war, for peace, democracy, freedom and social progress. There were more contacts between Communist and workers' parties (above all, at regional level). A meeting of 22 Communist and workers' parties of Europe for peace and disarmament was held in Paris in April 1980. This and other meetings of Communists discussed issues relating to the economic crisis, European integration and the process of security and co-operation.

They condemned the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, spoke up against the deployment of American intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, called for nuclear-free zones to be established, etc. Meetings of Communist and workers' parties became more regular in other regions of the world. They condemned the aggressive actions of imperialism in the Middle and Near East, Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, Central America and the Asian and Pacific region.

The efforts made to resolve mankind's overriding problem of saving the world from a nuclear holocaust contributed towards hammering out a new mode of political thinking in the international communist movement and building up its unity with all those who constitute the world's peace potential. The informal meeting of 178 delegations of parties and movements present in Moscow for the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution on November 4 and 5, 1987, was an entirely new form of working together. It involved Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, environmentalists, leading personalities from developing nations and the liberation movement, exponents of different ideologies and religions. The meeting centred on the issues of the survival of humanity and the construction of a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

There was increased attention from the Socialist International to the problems of disarmament and the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples. Its fora adopted resolutions in favour of international detente, further contacts and negotiations between West and East, limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons, the continued all-European process and in support of liberation struggles.

The 17th Congress of the Socialist International in 1986 approved the demand for all nuclear tests to be stopped, for no weapons to be placed out in space, and for the social and economic problems of developing nations to be resolved and regional conflicts peacefully settled.

The role of the trade union movement in the struggle for peace and vital interests of working people increased in the 1980s as well. The World Federation of Trade Unions pressed for the return to detente, supported initiatives for disarmament, acted in solidarity with the struggle of the developing nations, and stepped up its efforts to achieve trade union unity. The 11th World Trade Union Congress in Berlin in 1986 stressed that the struggle for peace and against the arms race was a major prerequisite for the resolution of social and economic problems.

The ICFTU and the WCL also gave more attention to the problems of safeguarding peace and limiting the arms race. The 13th ICFTU Congress in 1983 called for the peace effort to become a political priority of paramount importance. The WCL considerably extended its links with the WFTU in the 1980s. Increased international tensions compelled a mounting sense of responsibility for the destinies of peace on the part of such international organisations as the WIDF and the WFDY. Their congresses gave top priority to the efforts of women and youth for the survival of humanity.

In the 1980s, the anti-war movement developed into a most influential political force, exercising its influence on the international situation and world politics. It assumed particularly wide proportions in Europe and in the United States. The anti-war movement involved representatives of all classes and all social groups of society.

Peace activists held major fora: a World Parliament for Peace, Sofia, September 1980, and a World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, Prague, June 1983. There were regular meetings of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

The efforts of peace-loving nations and peoples for peace and international security and for a fundamental reshaping of the system of international relations bore fruit. A growing section of the world community was passing over to the positions of new political thinking and getting involved in the battle for the survival of humanity.

## THE WORLD OF SOCIALISM. THE SOVIET UNION

*The USSR After the War. National Economic Recovery.* The Soviet Union emerged victorious from World War II. It had played the decisive role in defeating the bloc of fascist states. The international prestige of the USSR was higher than ever. Sixty-four states had diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union by the end of 1945 (compared with 26 before the war). The Soviet state was one of the founding members of the UN and a permanent member of its Security Council. No major world problems could any longer be resolved without the first socialist nation participating.

However, many regions of the USSR and much of its economy had been destroyed. Over 20 million lives were lost. Nearly 30 per cent of the national wealth had been wiped out. The production of coal, metal, electricity and machinery fell off drastically. The railway transport was in a bad shape, and so was agriculture. The people's standard of living was appallingly low. Food, consumer goods and housing were in short supply. Twenty-five million people were without shelter, as a matter of fact. The total war damage was estimated at 2,569,000 million roubles (in 1941 prices).

However, the Soviet people succeeded in undoing the grave consequences of the war within a brief space of time, restoring and building up their national economy. In March 1946, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR approved the fourth five-year plan for 1946-1950, principally aimed at rebuilding the war-ravaged economic regions and regaining the pre-war level of industrial and agricultural production so as to exceed it afterwards. The plan provided for measures to raise the working people's standard of living.

The Soviet people addressed themselves wholeheartedly to the job of carrying out the fourth five-year plan. Many munitions factories had been reconverted and economic management reorganised accordingly as early as 1946; 8.5 million servicemen had been demobilised by 1948. Besides, over 5.2 million people who had found themselves in foreign parts during the war had returned home by the end of 1945. The wartime restrictions were lifted and the 8-hour working day re-established. The Party and government bodies worked hard to marshal investment for the national economy and resolve the manpower problem of industry and agriculture. There was a nation-wide emulation drive to hit the five-year plan targets ahead of schedule and improve output quality. "Top efficiency teams" appeared at plants and factories. Workers launched a movement of rationalisers and inventors. The fraternal mutual aid of the peoples of the Soviet Republics was a factor of great importance. The working people of the Eastern regions and republics lent great assistance in bringing the war-ravaged territories of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and the Western regions of the RSFSR back to life.

The Dnieper hydro-electric power station, the Donets coal basin, the oil industries of the North Caucasus and the Western Ukraine, the Krivoi Rog iron-ore fields, the Zaporozhstal and Azovstal steel plants, the Leningrad engineering factories, railways and motor roads were restored within a short space of time due to the Soviet people's heroic labour effort. New enterprises were built and old ones reconstructed and modernised. The oil, gas and coal industries made notable headway. New oil-fields between the Volga and the Urals were rising in importance. The construction of hydro-electric power stations advanced. As early as 1948, gross industrial output was up by 18 per cent on the pre-war level.

New types of industrial machinery began to be put out under the fourth five-year plan—high-capacity rolling-mills, hydraulic turbines, giant excavating machines and coal cutter-loaders. Jet aircraft production and nuclear power industry were advancing. The first Soviet atomic reactor became operational late in December 1946. It was

greatly to the credit of Igor Kurchatov, an outstanding Soviet scientist.

With the fourth five-year plan essentially fulfilled ahead of schedule gross industrial output in 1950 was up by 73 per cent on 1940. 6,200 major industrial units were restored or built anew.

A good deal of attention under the five-year plan was given to agricultural recovery and development. A plenary meeting of the Party's Central Committee held in February 1947, outlined a series of measures to consolidate the collective farms and state farms and to supply them with agricultural machinery. There were 1.5 times as many tractors and 1.4 times as many combine harvesters on the farms in 1950 as there had been in 1945. New types of machinery and implements were developed for the farming community, steps were taken to improve the agricultural pay scheme and collective farms were amalgamated. A full-scale change-over to co-operative farming took place in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Moldavia, and the Western regions of the Ukraine and Byelorussia in 1949.

However, agricultural development ran into serious difficulties: a shortage of investment, since most of it went into industry, of manpower and machinery, poor labour productivity, flawed agricultural management, a low standard of living in the countryside and lack of incentive for high performance. There was too little care about agricultural development in the central Non-Black Earth regions, which adversely affected the food situation there for years. In consequence, the five-year-plan targets for farming were not attained. Gross agricultural output in 1950 was 99 per cent of its 1940 level, and the grain harvest was lower.

The overall material condition of working people improved during those five years; there were more consumer goods on sale. The war tax was abolished early in 1946. Food and manufactured goods were derationed late in 1947. The currency reform carried out in the same year removed surplus banknotes, including counterfeit money, from circulation, and stabilised the nation's financial situation. The prices of consumer goods were cut on three occasions. The peasants' incomes rose, if slowly. Measures were taken to resolve housing

problems. Upwards of 200 million sq m of housing floor space were rebuilt or built anew. The war-devastated cities like Stalingrad, Minsk, Kiev, to mention just a few, were raised from ruins. Much construction work went on in Moscow and Leningrad. Notable headway was made in cultural, above all, educational development.

The nation's entire social and political life developed under the leadership of the Communist Party which had a membership of over 5.5 million by January 1, 1946. The first post-war elections for the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were held on February 10, 1946. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet converted the Council of People's Commissars into a Council of Ministers. The Soviet trade unions (which had a membership of 28.5 million in 1949), the Young Communist League (9.3 million members in 1949) and other mass organisations played an important part in carrying out the fourth five-year plan.

The Soviet government pursued a consistent policy of peace in international affairs. Soviet foreign policy was invariably based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence of nations. Its priorities were to maintain international peace and ensure favourable conditions for national recovery and development. The USSR worked for fraternal relationships with the People's Democracies, lending them all manner of support and assistance. It was consistently at the side of the national liberation movements. The Soviet Union opposed the Cold War policy launched by the Western powers and pressed for the principles of peaceful coexistence to be applied to international relations. It made great efforts to resolve the problems of post-war peace settlement.\* All that contributed towards enhancing the Soviet Union's international prestige and influence.

*Socialist Development Goes On.* Having rebuilt the war-damaged national economy, the Soviet Union had to tackle new problems. The strategy of the country's further advance was outlined at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party in October 1952. It amended the Party

\* See Chapter 1.



Rules to say that its major priority was to work for a progressive transition from socialism to communism.

Yet, at the same time, there was an increasingly tangible contradiction between the kind of society established and the methods of leadership applied. There were further abuse of power and violations of the socialist rule of law, witness the repressive frame-ups and persecution of many personalities in the world of science, art and culture. There was too little real respect for the people who worked selflessly, putting up with difficulties and shortages, yet felt that anxiety and expectations were building up in the community. That was the feeling that spread throughout the nation soon after Stalin died on March 5, 1953.

Nikita Khrushchev was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU in September 1953. He was also the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR from 1958 to 1964. The new Soviet leadership moved to restore the socialist rule of law. A search for new methods of the country's economic and political guidance began. Much attention was given to the development of agriculture, housing construction, light industry and consumer goods production. The 20th Congress of the CPSU (1956), which was a major landmark in national life, produced a number of new ideas regarding domestic development and world affairs and strongly denounced the Stalin personality cult.

In 1951-1960, the nation was carrying out its fifth and sixth five-year plans. However, the high targets of the sixth five-year plan called not only for it to be specified but for a new national economic plan to be drawn up for 1959-1965. The 21st Congress of the CPSU, meeting early in 1959, considered and approved the objectives to achieve under a seven-year national economic development plan. The major one was to advance all the sectors of the economy promoting, above all, the growth of heavy industry, building up the nation's economic potential and raising the people's standard of living. Particularly great attention in the plan was given to the development of the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

New industrial capacities were built under those plans, and whole industrial regions were rising. Considerable

attention was given to scientific and technological innovation. Machine-building was developing at a particularly fast pace. Soviet people exerted great efforts to take their country a stage ahead in socialist development. There was the continued sweeping upsurge of socialist emulation. In the late 1950s, it took on the form of a movement for a communist style of work. "Communist work teams" were springing up everywhere.

Some major hydro-electric power stations and the Volga-Don Canal were built in the 1950s and the 1960s. Oil and gas pipelines, thousands of kilometres long, were laid. New coal-fields were opened up, and so were vast oil-fields. More industrial capacities producing iron and steel were installed. Economic expansion in the country's Eastern regions continued. A good many projects were constructed for the light and food industries. The nation's transport network widened. More railway lines were switched over to electric traction and air lines made notable headway.

The agricultural situation remained involved in the early 1950s. A shortage of resources, mismanagement, violation of the principle of material incentives, the drift of population from villages to cities, and some other factors held up the development of agricultural production. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government took measures to provide increased material incentives for the collective farmers, reorder the planning of agricultural production and supply more of material and technical resources to the farming community. Along with that, a drive was launched in 1954 to bring large tracts of virgin soil and fallow land into cultivation in the country's Eastern regions, particularly in Kazakhstan. Upwards of 40 million hectares of such land had been turned up by 1960. New villages and townships appeared in the newly developed lands, and hundreds of thousands of people moved there. All that made it possible to improve the provision of grain within a short space of time. However, extensive farming techniques impaired the environment in the region.

Relying on the achievements gained in the development of the national economy, the Soviet government carried through further measures to improve the social and

Rules to say that its major priority was to work for a progressive transition from socialism to communism.

Yet, at the same time, there was an increasingly tangible contradiction between the kind of society established and the methods of leadership applied. There were further abuse of power and violations of the socialist rule of law, witness the repressive frame-ups and persecution of many personalities in the world of science, art and culture. There was too little real respect for the people who worked selflessly, putting up with difficulties and shortages, yet felt that anxiety and expectations were building up in the community. That was the feeling that spread throughout the nation soon after Stalin died on March 5, 1953.

Nikita Khrushchev was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU in September 1953. He was also the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR from 1958 to 1964. The new Soviet leadership moved to restore the socialist rule of law. A search for new methods of the country's economic and political guidance began. Much attention was given to the development of agriculture, housing construction, light industry and consumer goods production. The 20th Congress of the CPSU (1956), which was a major landmark in national life, produced a number of new ideas regarding domestic development and world affairs and strongly denounced the Stalin personality cult.

In 1951-1960, the nation was carrying out its fifth and sixth five-year plans. However, the high targets of the sixth five-year plan called not only for it to be specified but for a new national economic plan to be drawn up for 1959-1965. The 21st Congress of the CPSU, meeting early in 1959, considered and approved the objectives to achieve under a seven-year national economic development plan. The major one was to advance all the sectors of the economy promoting, above all, the growth of heavy industry, building up the nation's economic potential and raising the people's standard of living. Particularly great attention in the plan was given to the development of the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

New industrial capacities were built under those plans and whole industrial regions were rising. Considerable

attention was given to scientific and technological innovation. Machine-building was developing at a particularly fast pace. Soviet people exerted great efforts to take their country a stage ahead in socialist development. There was the continued sweeping upsurge of socialist emulation. In the late 1950s, it took on the form of a movement for a communist style of work. "Communist work teams" were springing up everywhere.

Some major hydro-electric power stations and the Volga-Don Canal were built in the 1950s and the 1960s. Oil and gas pipelines, thousands of kilometres long, were laid. New coal-fields were opened up, and so were vast oil-fields. More industrial capacities producing iron and steel were installed. Economic expansion in the country's Eastern regions continued. A good many projects were constructed for the light and food industries. The nation's transport network widened. More railway lines were switched over to electric traction and air lines made notable headway.

The agricultural situation remained involved in the early 1950s. A shortage of resources, mismanagement, violation of the principle of material incentives, the drift of population from villages to cities, and some other factors held up the development of agricultural production. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government took measures to provide increased material incentives for the collective farmers, reorder the planning of agricultural production and supply more of material and technical resources to the farming community. Along with that, a drive was launched in 1954 to bring large tracts of virgin soil and fallow land into cultivation in the country's Eastern regions, particularly in Kazakhstan. Upwards of 40 million hectares of such land had been turned up by 1960. New villages and townships appeared in the newly developed lands, and hundreds of thousands of people moved there. All that made it possible to improve the provision of grain within a short space of time. However, extensive farming techniques impaired the environment in the region.

Relying on the achievements gained in the development of the national economy, the Soviet government carried through further measures to improve the social and



economic conditions for the Soviet people. The wages and salaries of low-paid factory and office workers were put up in the 1950s; the pay rates for other workers were upgraded, while taxes were cut down and those imposed on the collective farmers' homestead and those were abolished altogether. A change-over to pay in cash for the collective farmers began since the late 1950s. Many categories of working people had their pensions increased under the 1956 Pensions Act. A further effort was made to resolve the housing problem. Upwards of 714 million sq m of housing floor space were built in the 1950s. Prices were streamlined. Those of certain consumer goods were reduced while those of certain like cars and rugs, increased.

Soviet science and culture reached new frontiers. Polytechnical schooling was introduced. More universities and colleges appeared in the country's Eastern regions. A Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences was established in Novosibirsk in 1957. Great attention was given to promoting nuclear power research. A Joint Nuclear Research Institute was created in Dubna, not far from Moscow. The world's first atomic power station started to generate electricity in the USSR in 1954. The achievements in jet propulsion technology enabled the Soviet Union to launch the world's first artificial earth satellite on October 4, 1957. Sergei Korolyov, a Soviet scientist, played an outstanding role in the development of space rocket systems. Great strides were made in other natural and social sciences as well as in socialist cultural development.

The task before the CPSU now was to map further ways in taking socialist society forward. The 22nd Congress, held in October 1961, adopted a new Party Programme. Its basic theoretical and political guidelines offered right bearings. However, the timing of the resolution of a number of concrete issues was unrealistic. There was the premature conclusion about the country having entered the period of full-scale construction of communism. Yet the congress did make important conclusions regarding a number of theoretical questions, such as the development of the state of proletarian dictatorship in the USSR into one belonging to, and run by the people as a whole.

After the congress, N. S. Khrushchev came out for some reforms of the Party, government and economic machinery, which did not respond to objective requirements, nor conduced to upgrading the democratic process, but, on the contrary, proved to be self-willed and subjectivistic and were launched in violation of the principles of collective Party and government leadership. It was those reforms, in particular, that set industry and farming apart. Experiments like maize planting everywhere, abolition of the peasants' private small holdings, a premature attempt at converting villages into townships, and some other measures of this kind impaired the situation in agriculture for a long time and created difficulties in resolving the country's food problem.

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU in October 1964, called for those mistakes to be corrected. It relieved N. S. Khrushchev of his duties and elected Leonid Brezhnev First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (General Secretary since 1966). Alexei Kosygin became Head of Government. The 23rd Congress of the CPSU (1966) adopted the Guidelines for the 1966-1970 Five-Year Plan, setting further development priorities for the Soviet national economy.

The nation's economic and political life moved into higher gear in the latter half of the 1960s. More attention was given to promoting socialist democracy, notably, enhancing the role of the Soviets and upgrading socialist legislation. Fresh initiatives were taken by the Soviet trade unions and the Young Communist League. The socialist emulation movement in 1970 involved upwards of 71 million people. The seven-year plan (1959-1965) for industrial production was fulfilled ahead of schedule. Industrial output went up by 84 per cent. 5,500 large-scale enterprises were built, especially in power engineering, chemical, oil and gas industries, machine-building and instrument-making. Great strides were made in space science. On April 12, 1961, Yuri Gagarin made the world's first manned space flight—a great contribution towards the exploration of the Moon and the planet Venus. Further measures were taken under the seven-year plan to improve living conditions.

For example, nearly 17 million flats and one-family houses were built. At the same time, the targets for farming were not achieved. Its gross output was up by a mere 14 per cent instead of the planned 70 per cent.

The plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU in 1965 called for an economic reform and outlined measures to improve economic planning and management. Much store was set by expanding agricultural production. The plenary meeting of March 1965, adopted a resolution, On Urgent Measures to Advance Agriculture in the USSR. All that enabled the country's economic situation to be improved in the short term. The eighth five-year plan (1966-1970) had its basic targets effectively attained. Industrial production increased by half as much again. About 1,900 new industrial enterprises and projects went into operation. Signs of certain progress appeared in agriculture, with its gross output rising by 21 per cent. The real incomes of the population went up by 33 per cent. Upwards of 500 million sq m of housing floor space were made available for Soviet people under that five-year plan.

The nation had great opportunities opening up before it for further rapid progress. In 1971, after reviewing the fulfilment of the eighth five-year plan, the 24th Congress of the CPSU approved the Guidelines for the National Economic Development of the USSR for 1971-1975. The task set under the new five-year plan was to fuse the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism. The Party and the government went ahead with their decision-making on urgent economic and political matters. It is worth noting the ordinance of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, On Measures for the Further Improvement of Environmental Protection and Rational Exploitation of Natural Resources (1972), the resolutions of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR on further improvements in industrial management (1973), On Measures to Promote Agricultural Development in the Non-Black Earth Zone of the RSFSR (1974), and the construction of the Baikal-Amur Mainline, over 3,000 km long (1974). The transition to full secondary education was completed in the early half of the 1970s. Gross industrial production

in the first five years of the 1970s increased by 43 per cent and agricultural, by 13 per cent; apartment houses with an aggregate floor space of 544 million sq m were built.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU (1976) endorsed the Basic Guidelines for National Economic Development for 1976-1980, reaffirming the Party's earlier economic strategy. Under the tenth five-year plan, further headway was made in nuclear power, construction of superlong oil- and gas-pipelines starting from the country's Eastern regions went on, and so did the development of coal mining in South Yakutia; a large amount of construction work was accomplished on the Baikal-Amur Mainline and on giant hydro-electric power projects. Large investment was made in agriculture, and further measures were taken to build up an integrated system of farming and related industries.

In the space of five years (1976-1980) industrial production expanded by 33 per cent and agricultural production, by 9 per cent. A total of 530 million sq m of housing floor space was built, thereby enabling upwards of 50 million people to be rehoused.

By and large, the USSR moved a stage ahead in advancing socialism in the 1950s-1970s, as recorded in the new Constitution adopted in 1977.

The notable headway in the economy meant raising the people's living and cultural standards and prompted advance towards greater democracy. The Soviet Union moved to the forefront in some areas of science and technology, which had a favourable effect on the nation's moral and political climate. There were no more mass repressions. The Soviet Union was widely recognised around the world as a major factor in international affairs.

However, serious difficulties and problems arose in the latter half of the 1970s and the early 1980s. The economic growth of the 1970s fell short of the nation's urgent requirements. As a matter of fact, the targets of the ninth and tenth five-year plans had not been achieved, nor was the social programme projected for those years carried out in full. Science and education, health, recreational and domestic services did not have enough material resources to build on. The economy was de-

veloping extensively rather than intensively. The growth rates of productivity declined. Stagnation was obvious in every area of community life.

The 26th Congress of the CPSU, held in 1981, approved the Basic Guidelines for National Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990, reaffirming the continuity of the economic strategy worked out at the preceding Party congresses. However, the changed situation as well as the difficulties and elements of stagnation required major solutions. Yet the economic situation was not properly assessed from the political point of view in good time. Neither were the urgent priorities set as they had to be for switching the economy over to intensive growth with full-scale use of scientific and technological advances. Nor did the process of improvement of socialism to the requirements of societal development. Elements of stagnation were in evidence in the ideological field and in social sciences. Socialism was found to be well behind in its historical competition with capitalism, which diminished its earlier power of attraction. Many Communists and working men in the USSR were increasingly worried and concerned both over the elements of stagnation and the mistakes made as well as proliferating abuses by individual officials, including those in high office. The course of events made it imperative for Soviet society to set about speeding up social and economic development and launching a reform programme.

*Soviet Foreign Policy.* In the 1950s-1970s, the major Soviet foreign policy priorities were to strengthen and promote friendship and co-operation with the socialist countries, support the national liberation movements and develop co-operation with emergent nations, promote peaceful coexistence with advanced capitalist states, oppose the Cold War, ease international tensions, seek disarmament, and work to prevent a world war.

In the 1950s, the Soviet Union rendered great assistance to the People's Democracies in building the foundations of socialism. It promoted trading and economic relations as well as political co-operation between the socialist countries and imparted a new substance to international socialist relations. The socialist countries were building

up their defence capability, which was appreciably facilitated by the establishment of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in 1955.

The Soviet Union gave a wide range of assistance to the peoples of Indonesia, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria in their struggle for independent existence and economic development. The construction of the Bhilai Steel Plant in India and the Aswan High-Dam project in Egypt with Soviet assistance became symbols of a growing alliance between socialism and the national liberation movement. The area of Soviet co-operation with the nations of Asia and Africa broadened considerably. The Bandung Conference of African and Asian nations in 1955 demonstrated the unity of the developing and socialist countries in the conduct of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The USSR made great efforts to put an end to the Cold War. The Soviet initiatives with a view to normalising relations with the United States, the summit meetings between the USSR, the US, Great Britain and France in the 1950s, the Soviet proposals for collective security in Europe and for disarmament, the Austrian settlement, the establishment of the Soviet Union's diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, and the development, if not very significant, of trading and economic links with capitalist countries combined to open up the prospects for mitigating the Cold War and passing over to normal international relations.

There were both positive and negative trends in the world of socialism in the 1960s. On the one hand, multi-lateral co-operation of Warsaw Treaty countries gained in strength and scope. The USSR concluded new treaties of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance with a number of socialist countries. It offered its support to the German Democratic Republic, socialist Cuba, the Vietnamese and Czechoslovak peoples in the defence of their gains of socialism. On the other hand, relations between the USSR and China and between the USSR and Albania drastically worsened and reached a breaking point in the early 1960s. The Soviet government strove to re-establish its relations with these countries.

As the Soviet economic potential built up and the international prestige of the USSR rose, the Soviet Union

rendered more help to the developing nations. Some of them were creating their national economies, strengthening their defence capability and trained their national manpower with Soviet assistance. Economic, scientific and technological co-operation between the USSR and developing nations gained ground.

The Soviet Union never stopped working to ease international tensions. The opening sessions of the Disarmament Committee in 1962, the conclusion of a treaty in 1963 to end nuclear tests in three environments, the initiative taken by the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries in 1965 in urging an all-European conference on security, the 1966 Soviet-French Declaration in favour of international detente and, finally, the signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in 1968 were major developments the Soviet Union was involved in. Yet, positive though they were, they did not yet bring the Cold War to a halt.

A certain change in the course of events came about at the turn of the 1970s when the USSR and the Warsaw Pact had reached military-strategic parity with the US and NATO. That circumstance as well as the resourceful peace policy of the USSR, as expressed, notably, in the Peace Programme advanced by the 24th Congress of the CPSU in 1971, did bring about certain international detente in the 1970s. That was a period which saw a new stage reached in the co-operation of the USSR and other socialist countries, especially following the adoption of the comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Co-operation and Development of Socialist Economic Integration in 1971. It was largely due to pressure and support from the USSR that the American aggression against the peoples of Indochina was brought to an end. Vietnam became a unitary socialist state. Laos and Cambodia also gained their freedom. The GDR and Cuba strengthened their positions, the Western frontiers of the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia were recognised as inviolable, and the status of West Berlin was officially laid down. Notable headway was made in the political and ideological co-operation of the socialist countries.

The Cold War was over, for the most part. The treaties of the USSR with the FRG, treaties and agree-

ments between the USSR and the US, between the USSR and Great Britain, and between the USSR and France, along with those with other nations, led to the principles of peaceful co-existence of states of the opposing social systems being actually applied to the practice of international affairs. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (1975), which involved 35 states, including the Soviet Union, was a historic development. The USSR concluded treaties of friendship and co-operation with a number of emergent nations. The 1971 Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the USSR and India became an important factor of international life. There was a considerable expansion of the Soviet Union's all-round co-operation with the developing countries. In 1978, the USSR had economic and technological co-operation agreements with 64 nations.

One important result of the Soviet peace efforts was to start the process of political detente. However, the Western reactionary and militarist quarters in every way resisted the repudiation of Cold War policies. That prevented accords being achieved at a number of arms limitation and reduction talks. Besides, there were some elements of stagnation affecting Soviet foreign policy, too, in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. In some instances it was not active, flexible and manoeuvrable enough.

*A Course for Reform.* The Soviet people were increasingly anxious to overcome the manifest negative developments and elements of stagnation, secure the nation's faster social and economic advance and reform public life to revitalise socialism. The Communist Party put itself at the head of this drive. Mikhail Gorbachev was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU in March 1985. The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU in April 1985, set course for the nation's faster economic and social advance and launched a full-scale reform programme which came to be known around the world as perestroika. The new strategy was thoroughly substantiated, elaborated on and approved at the 27th Congress of the CPSU (1986) and at the subsequent plenary meetings of the Party's Central Committee. The congress adopted a re-drafted Programme of the CPSU and ratified the Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Develop-



ment of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000.

The congress reviewed the fulfilment of the 1981-1985 five-year plan. The national income increased by 17 per cent, industrial output, by 20 per cent, and agricultural production, by 6 per cent. Housing with a total floor space of 552 million sq m was turned over for occupancy. The USSR came to lead the world not only in oil but in gas production as well. At the same time it was noted at the 27th Congress, elements of stagnation had most adversely affected the fulfilment of the eleventh five-year plan: economic growth rates slowed down, and so did progress in resolving the major social problems.

The congress outlined ways to accelerate the country's social and economic development. It called for the national income and the volume of industrial production to be roughly doubled by the year 2000, and for labour productivity to be increased by 2.3 to 2.5 times. The plan provided for 'predominantly intensive economic growth, with the latest of scientific and technological advances to be turned to account. Special emphasis was laid on the development of engineering and technological modernisation of industrial capacities. Major objectives were to be realised in the social area, including that of providing every Soviet family with self-contained housing accommodation—an apartment or one-family house—by 2000. Great attention was given to carrying out the Food Programme as well as to advancing consumer goods production and the service industries.

In foreign affairs, the 27th Congress of the CPSU put forward the concept of new political thinking in international relations, proceeding from the growing interdependence and integrity of this conflicting world and declaring the survival of humanity to be central to world politics. In accordance with this approach, the congress offered to the world community a programme for creating an all-embracing system of international security. Yet the historic significance of the 27th Congress was in marking a major turning point in the development of Soviet society. The reform programme which got under way in the USSR enhanced both the prestige of the Soviet state and the appeal of socialism.

Under this programme, the Soviet people set about realising three interconnected objectives: carrying out a fundamental economic reform, promoting extensive democracy in all areas of public life, and learning the new mode of political thinking. The Central Committee of the CPSU met in plenary session in January 1987, to examine the Party's human resource policy in the light of the reform programme. It underlined the importance of the human factor in carrying out this programme, indicated the further route to follow in refining the democracy of Soviet society and promoting socialist popular self-government. Local government elections in June 1987 partly followed a new pattern, with more than one candidate nominated for each seat.

The June 1987 plenary meeting of the Party's Central Committee looked into the tasks to accomplish with a view to a major overhaul of economic management. A fundamental reform of economic management was found to be the major point of the reform policy. In June 1987, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted a Law on the State Enterprise. It granted large autonomy to the enterprises, leaving them free to operate by the principles of cost-accounting and self-financing. The work of collectives received great powers of self-management as collective units. The object of the radical economic reform was to pass over from an excessively centralised system of command management to a democratic one based, principally, on cost-benefit methods, with centralism and self-management combined. Measures to upgrade wages and salaries, the system of price formation, investment activity and direction of external economic relations were being put through all over the country. Self-employment and co-operatives Acts were passed, enabling the areas of material production to be differentiated. Soviet legislation was being improved, law and order consolidated, and safeguards worked out to protect the rights and legitimate interests of citizens.

The process of change spread to the intellectual and cultural life of Soviet society as well—science, education, literature and art. It meant removing social constraints that used to restrict the development of literature and art and introducing what came to be called a socialist pluralism of opinion. The February 1988 plenary meeting

of the Central Committee of the CPSU reviewed progress in reforming the schools of general education as well as colleges and universities and the objectives as well as had to realise to this end. In fact, the debate went beyond the problems immediately connected with the advancement of the secondary and higher education system. It comprised substantiating a major priority in the Party's effort in this field—to base revolutionary reform on an ideology of innovation. It was noted at the plenary meeting that the Soviet people were in no way departing from socialism and Marxism-Leninism. But the reform policy did mean breaking with dogmatism, bureaucratisation and self-styled decision-making, which presupposed new thinking both in home and foreign affairs.

The 19th Party Conference, which met late in June and early in July 1988, was a major event in the life of the USSR. It discussed the ways of revitalising the process of change, promoting democracy and openness in the life of the Party and the community. The resolutions of the conference provided a blueprint for a reform of the political system and the creation of a law-governed socialist state. The conference made a circumstantial review of the fundamental problems of advancing the democracy of international relations and regenerating Soviet foreign policy. It was a stride forward towards basically reshaping socialist society in the USSR.

Legislation concerning national elections and amendments to the Soviet Constitution were approved late in November and early in December 1988. The top policy-making body was to be the Congress of People's Deputies, which was to elect the Supreme Soviet (a standing legislative, executive and supervisory body), the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and the Constitutional Supervision Committee. The amendments to the Constitution provided secure guarantees of the independence and inviolability of the judges.

The Congress of People's Deputies, meeting in May 1989, elected the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Mikhail Gorbachev its Chairman,\* appointed Nikolai

\* In 1990, Mikhail Gorbachev was elected President of the USSR and Anatoly Lukyanov—Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.—Ed.

Ryzhkov Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and formed the government.

At the same time, the process of reforming and revitalising socialism involved considerable difficulties and oversights. The nation's social and economic condition remained hard and even deteriorated. Anti-reformist, jingoist and downright criminal forces became more active. There arose a danger of undermining the unity of the state. The Second Congress of People's Deputies (December 1989) produced new solutions for overcoming difficulties and advancing the reform programme and approved measures for carrying out the economic reform and removing the defects it had.

The process of reform involved Soviet foreign policy as well. Its basic priority was declared to be to ensure the survival of humanity and to save the world from the threat of a world thermonuclear holocaust. Naturally, that was a problem that could be resolved only by the joint efforts of nations and peoples. It meant a change of the entire system of international relations. The Soviet government put forward major initiatives in every aspect of its foreign policy. In its relationship with the socialist countries, it was pressing for a genuinely socialist type of international relations. The bilateral and multilateral co-operation of the fraternal nations was expanded and made more effective, with elements of formalism and window-dressing removed. A new substance was being given to the way they worked together as members of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The mechanism of the CMEA functioning began to be restructured, with paramount attention being given to scientific and technological co-operation and to the development and extension of direct production links between socialist states.

The Soviet Union went on promoting closer co-operation with the developing nations, the range of its links with them was constantly widening. The Non-Aligned Movement spoke up in support of the Soviet course towards bringing about a nuclear-free and non-violent world. The USSR pressed on for a peaceful and fair settlement of regional conflicts, notably in the Middle East and Near East, in South-East Asia, Central America, and Southern Africa. Soviet diplomacy was solidly behind the

policies of national reconciliation initiated by the progressive national forces of Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Nicaragua.

The Soviet Union worked hard to relax the international tension which had developed in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. Its flexible and consistent policy brought about a manifestly healthier international climate by the mid-1980s. One factor that was particularly instrumental in making that possible was the successive Soviet-American summit meetings and negotiations in 1985-1990. Their direct result was the conclusion of the Treaty between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of the Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles (the INF Treaty) and their pledge to work towards halving their strategic offensive arms. The process of European security and co-operation went on with full-scale Soviet participation. The initiatives the USSR took to promote security in the Asian and Pacific region and elsewhere contributed towards improving the world situation.

There was widespread world public support for the Soviet Union's major proposals for eliminating nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction by 2000, creating an all-embracing system of international security in the political, military, economic and humanitarian fields, bringing about a nuclear-free and non-violent world, and reshaping international economic relations, to mention just a few. The members of the world community showed immense interest in the concept of the new political thinking the USSR applied to international relations. Not only democratic elements but also realistically-minded Western bourgeois spokesmen said they were in favour of thinking and acting in a new way in world politics to make mankind's survival certain. All that went far towards enhancing the Soviet Union's prestige in the world.

## Chapter 3 DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF A SINGLE COUNTRY

### § 1. Major Stages in the Evolution of Socialism

*The World Socialist System Formed.* The creation of people's democratic states in Europe and Asia started the process of formation of the world socialist system, with its opening stage spanning 1945-1949. One distinguishing feature of the revolutions of the 1940s, which had for the most part arisen from the anti-fascist liberation struggle, was closely intertwining democratic and socialist objectives. The strategic course of the Communist parties in the People's Democracies was to carry through the social and economic reforms of the democratic stage of the revolution most consistently and thoroughly, isolate reactionary forces and get the people's democratic revolution to develop into a socialist one.

The distinctions between social-economic and political conditions in each of the countries concerned determined the particular forms of people's democratic revolutions. In Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, the revolutions were socialist right from the outset. In Czechoslovakia, the revolution bore a national-democratic character, while in East Germany it took on the form of an anti-fascist democratic revolution. In China there was a popular, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist revolution. Yet the people's democratic revolutions had some features in common. They meant dismantling the old machinery of the state, expelling reactionary, fascist and feudal elements, and replacing them with a new system—popular government. There was a full-scale process of establishing the standards of democratic political and public

life. The working masses were united in a popular (national) front in one form or another. The unity of the workers' and democratic parties had been consolidated.

Popular governments carried through a whole series of important social and economic reforms, with an agrarian reform taking on particular significance. It meant granting the peasants the land which they were to keep as private property. That was done with due regard for the national traditions of land tenure and the specific conditions of these countries. One result of the agrarian reform was to abolish the class of landed gentry or feudals and strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants.

The process of people's democratic revolutions involved resolving a number of problems of a socialist character, too, for instance, those of nationalising the major industries and banks, which went far towards undercutting the positions of Big Business. These reforms were carried through in the context of a pitched class battle and amid reactionary conspiracies against people's rule.

The consolidation of the unity of the working class, creation of integrated trade unions, a closer relationship between Communist and Socialist parties, which led to the formation of integrated Marxist-Leninist working-class parties in the People's Democracies were factors of tremendous importance for the development of people's revolutions.

One distinguishing aspect of the revolutionary process in the European People's Democracies was the peaceful transition from the democratic to the socialist stage of the revolution. The Communist parties worked towards progressively strengthening the positions of the proletariat in government and social activities against the background of the weakening positions of the bourgeoisie.

The rule of the proletariat and its allies in a number of countries of Europe and Asia took on the form of people's democracy, distinguished, in particular, by the preservation of a multi-party system and formation of coalition governments. Democratic parties, united within the popular (national) front, also stood for the establishment of socialism and recognised the leading role of the Communist Party.

The Soviet Union helped the people's democratic countries restore their national economies, reshape them along socialist lines and consolidate their international positions. Economic links between the USSR and the People's Democracies were in the form of bilateral foreign trade exchanges under short-term agreements. These links were progressively growing closer and becoming diversified and regular. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, founded in 1949, played an important part in building them up. Political relations reposed on bilateral treaties of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance.

The process of evolution of the socialist system was not all plain sailing. To begin with, it was opposed by forces of home-grown and international reaction. Besides, it was hampered by mistakes due to the practices arising from the personality cult. For example, unfounded charges were laid against the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which caused relations between it and other socialist countries to be disrupted.

By the late 1940s, the European People's Democracies had entered the socialist stage of development.

*The Foundations of Socialism Laid in People's Democracies.* The second stage in the evolution of the world socialist system spanned the 1950s and the 1960s. It comprised laying the economic foundations of socialism in most of the People's Democracies. The process of socialist development produced some general underlying principles as well as certain specific features peculiar to these countries. Socialist development was effected by the working class led by the Communist parties with support from other parties and organisations of the Popuar (National) Fronts. The working class acted in alliance with the bulk of the peasantry and other sections of working people. Pitched battles with wealthy exploiter-farmers were avoided. These farmers were allowed to join agricultural co-operatives. Capitalist ownership was abolished and replaced by the public ownership of the basic means of production. Mixed private-public enterprises were created in some countries, for example, in the GDR and the PRC.

The national economies were developed under a plan



aimed at raising the living standards of working people. The People's Democracies had the aid and experience of the USSR to rely on in building up their material and technical base of socialism and, notably, in carrying through their industrialisation programmes. Therefore, these countries set course, as a rule, for advancing those industries in which there were favourable conditions for development or which they needed most and could build them up by taking advantage of the international division of labour within the framework of the socialist system.

Of course, mistakes and miscalculations could not be avoided in so great an undertaking. For instance, there were some attempts at forcing the pace of socialist development, imbalances in the development of different sectors of the national economies, "leaps" and attempts at skipping indispensable stages of development.

The construction of the new type of society brought with it a gradual socialist transformation of agriculture. The People's Democracies succeeded in passing over to the socialist forms of agricultural production in a more regular fashion than the USSR did before them. Still they could not avoid some forward-thrusting either (witness, the creation of the "communes" in China).

The rupture of relations between China and Albania, on the one hand, and the majority of the socialist states, on the other, was a telling blow to the socialist system.

The Soviet Union's assistance to socialist countries enabled them to overcome the difficulties of building up their socialist system and score notable achievements. Socialist nations were progressively passing over from bilateral to multilateral co-operation. Socialist countries began to coordinate their national five-year plans. The Soviet Union helped them with credits and assisted them, besides, in the construction of industrial capacities and other projects.

The creation of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation by socialist countries in 1955 was an event of great significance, contributing as it did towards bringing them closer together, coordinating their foreign policies and building up their defence capability.

In consequence, socialist countries achieved great suc-

cesses. In 1960 their aggregate industrial production was 6.8 times that of 1937. The CMEA countries turned out 12 times more of industrial products in 1973 than they did in 1948. Industrialisation was the major hallmark of economic growth in all the socialist states. Most of them were through with setting up peasant producers' co-operatives. The development of their national economies brought about a considerable enhancement of the standard of living of their working people.

The class structure of society underwent major change. There were no more exploiter classes. The working class, the peasantry, intellectuals and professional people strengthened their alliance and co-operation in the interest of socialist development. The moral and political unity of the peoples was taking shape and growing ever closer. Social and economic prerequisites for the restoration of capitalism were removed.

The international positions of socialism were consolidated, and its role in world affairs rose. In 1970, the CMEA countries accounted for about one-third of the world's industrial production, compared with one-fifth in 1950.

*Development of World Socialism in the 1970s-1980s.* The frontiers of the socialist world were extended. The whole of Vietnam became a unified socialist state. Laos turned socialist as well.

A number of socialist countries achieved high economic performance. Many countries were effectively resolving the new problems they had to resolve in upgrading socialist relations in the countryside and raising agricultural productivity along with promoting the process of concentration and specialisation of farming. Agrarian-industrial complexes were created to enable agricultural production to link up with certain lines of industrial production, transport, etc.

Expanding industrial and agricultural production made it possible to meet material and cultural needs to a fuller extent. Many socialist countries became developed nations.

Since the autumn of 1989, radical changes began to take place in socio-economic and political life in a number of the Warsaw Treaty countries (the GDR, Czechoslova-

kia, Romania), and even earlier in Poland and Hungary. These changes were directed in some countries at a revolutionary renewal of socialism, while in others they were detrimental to socialism and processes involved the reprivatisation began to develop in their economy.

The process of building socialism was not immune from serious difficulties. There were shortcomings and mistakes in conducting the social and economic policies. Anti-socialist forces pinned great hopes on fomenting jingoism and chauvinism and undermining the unity of socialist countries. Unfavourable world economic trends compounded the problems the socialist countries had to face in providing themselves with fuel and raw materials. In the late 1970s and the early 1980s the socialist world developed elements of stagnation with their economic growth rates markedly slowing down. Social and economic problems building up and political situation straining. The 27th Congress of the CPSU as well as the congresses of a number of ruling parties of other socialist countries worked out a strategy for speeding up their social and economic advance, reforming their public life and revitalising socialism. Perestroika is an objectively necessary stage in the development of socialist society, its transition from one qualitative state into another. It is a kind of a renewal of socialism, necessary for all socialist countries.

Coordination of foreign-political activity by the socialist countries has begun within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, as well as in other forms. The activity of CMEA is being restructured. At a CMEA conference in 1984, long-term lines of interaction between CMEA member-countries in key branches of the economy were mapped. In 1985, they adopted a comprehensive programme to promote scientific and technological advance. The development of direct production links became basic to their mutual relationships.

In 1989, CMEA countries agreed to continue their economic relations on the basis of world market principles.

## 2. Socialist Countries of Europe

Poland

The Polish people entered a new period in their history after the Second World War. They had a popular democratic system of government established in their country. From June 28, 1945, the Polish Republic was administered by a government of national unity headed by Edward Osóbka-Morawski. It comprised representatives of the people's forces (Wladyslaw Gomulka, Communist) and of bourgeois elements in exile (Stanislaw Mikolajczyk of the Polish Peasant Party created in August 1945). That government received international recognition. Poland had all her lands reunited within a single state and started to develop the western regions returned to her. To meet the people's desire for social progress, the 1st Congress of the Polish Workers' Party (December 1945) drew up a programme of far-reaching economic and social reforms. Soon after the end of the war, Poland adopted legislation to nationalise industry, transport, financial and commercial institutions, which led to the abolition of large- and medium-scale capitalist property. The agrarian reform abolished the landed estates, and over a million families of peasants and agricultural workers received land. The planned development of the national economy began at the same time. In 1947-1949, Poland was busy carrying out her three-year plan of national economic recovery.

The exploitative classes (landed gentry and bourgeoisie) reacted with a fierce backlash with support of external reactionary elements. There were armed bands operating on national territory, and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was ravaging a number of regions. Bands of Hitler's *Werwolfs* were hiding in the forests. Over 20,000 people died at the hands of anti-government elements in the early post-war years.

The working class and other democratic forces found a way to fend off reaction. In a referendum on June 30, 1946, the overwhelming majority of the electorate supported the social and economic reforms. The Democratic Bloc, headed by the Polish Workers' Party, won the elections for the Sejm (Parliament) on January

13, 1947. Boleslaw Bierut (General Secretary of the Central Committee of the PWP since 1948, and subsequently, PUWP) was elected as President of the nation. The Government was headed by Józef Cyrankiewicz of the Polish Socialist Party. Soon afterwards, the Sejm approved a Minor Constitution and a Declaration of Civil Rights and Liberties which formalised the power of the working class and its allies in the form of people's democracy. The union of Polish Communists and Socialists within the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) in 1948 strengthened the foundations of people's rule. Unity processes occurred in other parties during the same period, resulting in the formation of a United Peasants' Party and a single Democratic Party which became the PUWP's allies. In foreign affairs, Poland relied, first and foremost, on friendship and co-operation with the USSR and the People's Democracies.

In the 1950s, Poland scored quite a few achievements in building the foundations of socialism. Many industrial projects, including the Nowa Huta Integrated Iron and Steel Plant, were put into operation. The rebuilding of Warsaw, the nation's capital, was a real triumph. The socialist democratic framework of the political system was being strengthened. In 1952, the Sejm approved the new Constitution of the PPR, consolidating the country's socialist political and economic system. By as early as the mid-1950s, the socialist sector came to dominate industry, finance and commodity exchange. Poland became an industrial-agrarian nation.

But, along with achievements, there were quite a few difficulties. The socialist remaking of agriculture went on slowly. There was a shortage of food and agricultural raw materials. Foreign-backed reactionary elements took advantage of these and other difficulties. In consequence, Poland faced a serious political crisis in 1956. The efforts to overcome it were made under the leadership of the PUWP with Wladyslaw Gomulka as General Secretary since October 1956. In the latter half of the 1950s, the country's working people achieved an upsurge of productive forces, improvements in managerial methods, a rise in productivity and in the working people's standard of living. Poland got more involved in international affairs. In 1957, she came up with a pro-

posal (Rapacki Plan) for a zone free from atomic weapons to be created in Central Europe.

In the 1960s, great attention was given to the development of raw materials, fuel and power industries. A Mazowsze Integrated Petrochemical Plant was built, new electric power stations were put into service, engineering production expanded and so did that of lignite and sulphur. A tyre factory was brought into operation at Olsztyn, and so were copper-smelting, iron-and-steel, engineering and chemical capacities. However, agriculture was still lagging behind and some other difficulties persisted. There was a fairly strong clerical opposition. All that provided fertile ground for the occasional reactivation of anti-socialist forces. Reactionary elements showed themselves up again in March 1968.

The leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) and of the nation, however, failed to rectify the shortcomings in the social and economic policy and in ideological and political work in good time. Moreover, increased prices of staple foodstuffs announced in December 1970, touched off mass protests of workers in coastal cities: Gdansk, Gdynia, Szczecin and Elbląg. This latest political crisis led to the replacement of PUWP leadership, with Edward Gierek elected as First Secretary of the Central Committee. Measures were then taken for a rapid solution of the pressing problems and for normalising the situation. In the early half of the 1970s, more than 11 million people had their wages and salaries increased.

The Polish leadership expected to bring the nation forward within a short space of time to catch up with most advanced countries by developing modern lines of production and achieving a major rise in the standard of living. However, the emphasis in the efforts to realise these objectives was largely on using Western technology and credits. By the end of 1980, Poland's foreign debt amounted to 23,000 million dollars. The Polish economy found itself to be dependent on the West. Once more, it developed wide imbalances and domestic market stability was upset. A deep-seated crisis was brewing, and it broke out in the latter half of 1980.

Strikes began at many industrial enterprises in the summer of 1980. In some places, they escalated into pub-

lic disturbances which made it unavoidable for the authorities to use force to stop them. Opposition forces formed a Solidarnosc (Solidarity) trade union which put itself at the head of the mounting pressure against the government and the policy of the PUWP. The top-level Catholic church clergy intensified their anti-socialist activities.

The crisis which had thus erupted caused the PUWP leadership to be changed again. Wojciech Jaruzelski was elected First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee in October 1981. Martial law was introduced in December 1981, and lifted in July 1983. The resolute measures taken by the government foiled an anti-socialist coup. Yet it proved to be an extremely daunting task to bring the nation's economic life back to normal. The government proposed a series of measures to achieve economic stability, resolving the problem of food supply, improving housing conditions and ending inflation. Candidates of the PUWP, the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party won extensive national support in the local government election on June 17, 1984. Inflation was curbed by the mid-1980s, with the efficiency of production raised and the groundwork laid for an enhancement of the working people's standard of living. There was an over 78 per cent turnout in the elections for the Sejm on October 13, 1985. The elections showed working people's support for the course of the PUWP and the allied UPP and the DP. The 10th Congress of the PUWP in 1986 struck the balance of the crisis period, adopted a PUWP Programme and outlined the objectives to be realised in the immediate stage of socialist development. The nation's five-year plan for social and economic development in 1986-1990 provides for the productive potential to be modernised and scientific and technological progress accelerated.

Social tension in Poland increased again soon after the PUWP Congress. To find a way out, the PUWP proposed holding a round table with members of the opposition, which took place in February-April 1989. In consequence, it was decided to establish the second chamber of Sejm (Parliament) and legalise the Solidarity federation. Its representatives scored great success at the Sejm elections in June 1989. The Sejm elected

Wojciech Jaruzelski the nation's President. A Solidarity man, Tadeusz Mazowiecki was appointed the head of government. Mieczyslaw Rakowski was elected First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee. The situation in that country remained rather involved in the late 1980s. The new government of Poland carried out a radical economic reform and introduced other changes in the social and political spheres. In 1989, the PUWP was dissolved. Many of its members joined the newly-formed Left Party.

The country was renamed the Republic of Poland.

### *Czechoslovakia*

Once Czechoslovakia was liberated from the German invaders, its people had an opportunity opening up before them for building a new way of life. A National Front government, headed by Social Democrat Zdeněk Fierlinger and comprising Communists, Social Democrats and representatives of the People's, Democratic, and Socialist parties, was formed at Košice as early as April 1945. It lost no time in carrying out deep-going social-economic and political reforms. The major private enterprises and banks passed into the hands of the state. With the landed estates abolished under an agrarian reform, 303,000 peasant households received 1.2 million hectares of land.

The fascist and other reactionary organisations ceased to exist, while democratic parties and public organisations came back to life and became increasingly active. Communists gained a great success in the 1946 parliamentary elections, polling 38 per cent of the total vote. The Social Democrats polled 12 per cent of the total. The CPCz leader, Klement Gottwald, was put at the head of the coalition government. Thereupon, the left forces launched a drive for an extended agrarian reform. The economy began to be developed under a plan, and a special tax was imposed on millionaires.

The commitment of the left forces to carrying forward the revolution came up against stiff resistance from the reactionaries. Counter-revolutionary plotters were uncovered and rendered harmless in 1947. A major showdown



between the socialist forces and their opponents took place early in 1948. On February 20, 1948, 12 ministers resigned in the hope of bringing down the Gottwald government. But large sections of working people rose to defend people's rule. The army was at the people's side. Meetings and strikes in support of the government took place everywhere. President Edvard Beneš, sympathetic towards the plotters, had to accept the resignation of 12 ministers. The government was reinforced with representatives of the left forces. So the issue of power was decided in favour of the working class and the rest of the working masses in February 1948.

The nation entered the stage of socialist development. The agrarian reform was completed soon afterwards. More industries were nationalised. A monopoly of foreign trade was introduced. The new Constitution, approved on May 9, 1948, declared that the top national priority was to build socialism. After the National Assembly elections on May 30, 1948, Klement Gottwald became the nation's President and another Communist, Antonín Zápotocký, Head of Government. On June 27, 1948, the CPCz and the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party and then the Communist Party of Slovakia united to form a single Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which contributed to strengthening people's rule.

The working masses were now active in the process of building the foundations of socialism. A socialist emulation drive got under way throughout the nation. Big metallurgical plants were built under the first five-year plan (1949-1953), including the Gottwald Integrated Plant in Kuncice, and an aluminium factory, engineering and chemicals factories and 12 electric power stations were put into service. The people's standard of living rose as did wages and salaries, while retail prices were reduced. The rationing was ended in 1953. Country life began to be reformed along socialist lines. Four types of co-operatives were created. Czechoslovakia's co-operation with the USSR and other socialist countries was effectively developing ever since the early post-war years. The problems of transition from capitalism to socialism had been essentially resolved by the late 1950s. The new Constitution, approved on July 11, 1960, declared Czechoslovakia a socialist republic.

Czechoslovakia entered a new stage of her development in the early 1960s. Great importance was now attached to speeding up technological progress. However, the nation came to grips with considerable difficulties. Economic growth rates slowed down owing to long-drawn-out extensive development, a slow rise in the efficiency of social production, sluggish technological modernisation of industry and mismanagement of the national economy. A crisis danger loomed large in the latter half of the 1960s, aggravated by elements of subjectivism and voluntarism in the party and state leadership (president A. Novotný). In January 1968, there were leadership changes in the CPCz, with Alexander Dubček heading the Party. By late summer, the situation in the country had reached so dramatic a turn that five socialist countries (the USSR, the GDR, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria) moved their forces into Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968. This act has been subsequently reassessed by the Communist parties concerned as mistaken and unjustified.

Gustav Husák was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCz in April 1969. The new leadership of the Party and the nation carried through a series of measures to stabilise and advance the entire national economy and to end inflation. A further step in building up socialism was taken in the 1970s. Yet, at the same time, Czechoslovakia's social and economic development in the late 1970s and the early 1980s experienced certain difficulties and elements of stagnation. These included an inflexible and inconsistent application of the factors of intensification and inadequate progress in turning scientific and technological advances to good account. This caused a slowdown of economic growth rates. The CPCz leadership properly reacted to those developments and dynamic national economic growth rates were regained as early as 1983. The 17th Congress of the CPCz (1986) put forward a programme of speeding up social and economic development. Certain changes with a view to revitalising socialism were carried through in the economy, politics, social, cultural and intellectual fields in the ČSSR in 1987-1989. However, the process of regeneration was obstructed by passive or anti-reformist forces, which caused deep-going popular

resentment. As a result of mass action in November and December 1989, the former leadership of the nation and the CPCz had to step down. Vaclav Havel, a representative of the radical forces, was elected President. Since 1990, the country has been called the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. In international affairs, it is pursuing a policy of peace and security and strengthening friendship with the USSR and other socialist countries. Czechoslovakia is giving great attention to the issues of security and co-operation on the European continent.

### *The German Democratic Republic*

As the Second World War ended, Germany lay prostrate. Her economic and financial life was disrupted. East Germany which was then the Soviet occupation zone had favourable conditions for a programme of democratic change drawn up by the Allies to be put into effect. The Soviet military administration, which operated on the territory of East Germany from June 9, 1945, at once permitted the activities of democratic parties and organisations. The Communist and Social Democratic parties resumed their activities, speaking out for Germany to be reorganised in keeping with anti-fascist and democratic principles. Both parties merged in April 1946, to form a Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG). The newly-formed Liberal Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union took up similar positions. Mass organisations, like trade union, youth and women's organisations, resumed their activities as well.

Local government bodies sprang up on the territory of East Germany once it was liberated. Local government elections in September 1946 ended in a victory for the democratic forces. The German lands and provinces drafted and adopted their own constitutions. Social-economic reforms got under way. The enterprises of Nazi war criminals were expropriated, an agrarian reform implemented, and workers' control of production established. Land-poor peasants and agricultural workers received land. Measures were carried through to improve the living conditions of working people. An 8-hour working day was established in the Soviet zone, social

insurance, labour safety and similar arrangements were introduced. Great efforts were made to rebuild the war-ravaged economy. The pre-war level of industrial production was regained and full employment ensured on the territory of East Germany by 1949.

The problem of preserving German national unity was a major one for the German people. The first German People's Congress was held in Berlin early in December 1947. Its delegates, representing West and East Germany, spoke up for unity, for the early conclusion of a peace treaty and for the creation of a central democratic government. The movement of the German People's Congress made notable headway. It served to draft the Constitution of the German Democratic Republic (of Germany as a whole). However, the Western powers and reactionary forces of the Western zones of Germany prevented a united democratic state from being created, preferring to keep divided Germany. After a separate West German State had been created, the German Democratic Republic was declared to be established on the territory of East Germany on October 7, 1949. A few days later, the Soviet Government handed all the functions of administration over to the authorities of the GDR. Wilhelm Pieck was elected President of the GDR and Otto Grotewohl became Head of Government.

The establishment of the GDR opened a new chapter in the history of East Germany. The country set about building a socialist society. It drew up and carried out five-year plans for national economic development. Old enterprises were reconstructed, and rapid progress began to be made in advancing heavy industries and shipbuilding. Agricultural producers' co-operatives began to be established from the spring of 1952. However, the progress of socialist development in the GDR was complicated by imbalances in the economy because of the division of Germany, the economic warfare which the FRG waged against the GDR, all kinds of acts of subversion by the West as well as by certain errors of judgement in the organisation of the socialist development process.

Reactionary elements were going out of their way to set the masses against people's rule. On June 17, 1953, a handful of fire-brands provoked disturbances, strikes, demonstrations and ransacking of shops and offices in

Berlin, the capital of the GDR, and in some other cities and localities, under a pre-coordinated plan. That counter-revolutionary outrage was cut short by the determined action of the Armed Forces of the GDR and by workers' squads. In the mid-1950s, international reaction once more attempted to destabilise the GDR. Anti-socialist counter-revolutionary elements reared their head there in October 1956, creating a threat of a reactionary rebellion. However, the government bodies, supported by the working masses, checked them again. A mammoth demonstration of armed workers' squads in Berlin had a sobering effect on the plotters.

By the late 1950s, the GDR had made a good deal of progress thanks to the selfless labour effort of its working people. In 1960, gross industrial output was more than three times what it had been in 1936. The socialist sector turned out 83.7 per cent of manufactured products. The process of formation of peasants' producer co-operatives was essentially completed in the spring of 1960. A large proportion of handicraftsmen and artisans joined handicraft co-operatives. Mixed state-private enterprises were created. The basic problems of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism were resolved. The GDR became one of the world's top ten industrialised nations.

The foreign policy of the GDR also took shape. Its first priority was to promote closer unity and friendship with the USSR and other socialist countries. The USSR was rendering great economic assistance and political support to the GDR. On March 25, 1954, the Soviet government recognised the GDR's full sovereignty. The GDR was active in pressing for Germany to be reunified as a peaceable and democratic state. With the FRG in NATO, it became increasingly obvious that it was impossible for the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG to be mechanically united. So the idea of creating a unitary German state, in one form or another, was dropped. In the early 1960s, the GDR, in agreement with other Warsaw Pact countries, moved to strengthen the defences on its borders, particularly that with West Berlin.

When President Wilhelm Pieck died on September 7, 1960, a Council of State of the GDR, with Walter

Ulbricht elected as Chairman, was established on September 12, 1960. In the early 1960s, the government of the GDR devised a new system of planning and economic management. It implied substantially enlarging the rights of enterprises, individual and amalgamated, introducing cost-accounting, promoting socialist emulation and raising productivity. Working people had their rights extended in the administration of the economy. Closer links were set up between science and production. Measures were taken to promote socialist rationalisation, standardisation and specialisation of production and the industrialisation of farming. A new Constitution was approved in 1968, defining the GDR as the Socialist State of the German Nation.

Erich Honecker was elected First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in 1971 (since 1976, General Secretary). Socialist relations of production continued to be consolidated. The parastatal and private enterprises were reorganised into commonly owned national enterprises. The process of upgrading the standards of management in industry and construction went on. Measures were outlined for the development of electrical engineering and electronics, for scientific and technological advances to be turned to proper account at the point of production, and for saving fuel, raw materials and finances. Integrated industrial plants were established.

The GDR's international activity was rising. A Treaty Establishing the Basic Principles of Relations between the GDR and the FRG was signed in 1972. The GDR became a member of the UN. In 1975, its representative put his signature under the Helsinki Final Act. In 1976, 122 nations had diplomatic relations with the GDR.

In the 1980s, the GDR adopted measures for raising the efficiency of production and improving the quality of output, speeding up scientific and technological progress, and bringing microprocessors and robotics into the process of production. The drive to save energy, raw materials and financial resources continued. Important ideological and political measures for upgrading the public and legal order were carried out, witness the Acts on public courts, conscription and the national frontier.

A process of reinvigorating socialism developed in the

GDR as well, although its leadership, headed by Erich Honecker, held up the solutions that had been long overdue. A sweeping movement of the masses in November and December 1989, removed the Honecker leadership from office both in the Party and the state. The SUPG was dissolved. In the 1990 elections, victory was won by the bloc of parties, headed by the Christian-Democratic Union. In the setting of these developments, the majority of the GDR population expressed themselves in favour of unification of the two German states. Measures have been launched to establish a single Germany. The international community came out in support of the unification and maintaining stability in Europe.

### *Hungary*

A Provisional National Government of Hungary was established at the very end of the Second World War. It comprised representatives of the Communist, Socialist, National Peasant and Small Landowners parties. A number of important democratic and anti-fascist measures began to be carried through at the same time. On March 17, 1945, the government issued a Decree abolishing the system of big landownership and turning the land over to the peasants. Upwards of 600,000 families of farm labourers and land-poor peasants received their plots of land under the agrarian reform. The economic domination of big landowners was undermined. Hungary's working people made great efforts to recover the warcrippled national economy. The Soviet Union rendered considerable assistance to Hungary in the restoration of transport services, industrial capacities and communications. It provided Hungary with food supplies and granted her loans.

A feature of the nation's political life was the growing struggle between reactionary and progressive forces. Elections for the National Assembly took place in an involved setting on November 4, 1945. The Small Landowners Party, grouping reactionary and rightist forces, polled most votes (57 per cent). After the elections, the rightist forces expected to organise a counter-offensive against the forces of the people's democratic revolution. This

trend was opposed by the Communist Party supported by the working masses. The Communists stood for workers' control at factories. An Act nationalising all coal mines was passed at their insistence in December 1945. The left forces got Hungary declared a republic on February 1, 1946. They defeated the opponents of the agrarian reform. A financial reform was carried out at the Communistists' urging on August 1, 1946. Large-scale heavy industry enterprises were being virtually nationalised in various localities. The nation's economy was made to develop according to plan as from January 1947.

The response of reactionary elements to progressive changes was to hatch a counter-revolutionary plot. Yet it was uncovered and foiled late in 1946 and early in 1947. The Small Landowners Party purged itself of rightist forces and shifted leftward. In the elections for the National Assembly (Parliament) on August 31, 1947, the left-wing parties gained about half the seats and formed a government. That accelerated the conversion of the democratic revolution into a socialist one. An Act to nationalise banks was passed on November 27, 1947, and another one to nationalise industrial enterprises with a work force of over 100, on March 25, 1948. The public sector came to dominate the national economy. In June 1948, the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party merged to form a Hungarian Workers' Party. This contributed to definitely establishing the rule of the working class. Candidates of the Hungarian People's Front created earlier on, polled 95 per cent of all votes in an early election for the National Assembly on May 15, 1949. The Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic was adopted on August 18, 1949.

In the immediate post-war years, people's Hungary was shaping up its foreign policy. In 1947 Hungary signed a peace treaty and in 1948 she concluded a treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance with the USSR. She signed similar treaties with a number of People's Democracies.

Once on the track of socialist development, Hungary set about plan-based industrialisation, socialist reorganisation of farming and improving the people's living conditions. Certain headway was made in heavy industry in the early half of the 1950s, but other sectors ran



GDR as well, although its leadership, headed by Erich Honecker, held up the solutions that had been long overdue. A sweeping movement of the masses in November and December 1989, removed the Honecker leadership from office both in the Party and the state. The SUPG was dissolved. In the 1990 elections, victory went to the bloc of parties, headed by the Christian Democratic Union. In the setting of these developments, the majority of the GDR population expressed themselves in favour of unification of the two German states. Measures have been launched to establish a single Germany. The international community came out in support of the unification and maintaining stability in Europe.

### Hungary

A Provisional National Government of Hungary was established at the very end of the Second World War. It comprised representatives of the Communist, Socialist, National Peasant and Small Landowners parties. A number of important democratic and anti-fascist measures began to be carried through at the same time. On March 17, 1945, the government issued a Decree abolishing the system of big landownership and turning the land over to the peasants. Upwards of 600,000 families of farm labourers and land-poor peasants received their plots of land under the agrarian reform. The economic domination of big landowners was undermined. Hungary's working people made great efforts to recover the war-crippled national economy. The Soviet Union rendered considerable assistance to Hungary in the restoration of transport services, industrial capacities and communications. It provided Hungary with food supplies and granted her loans.

A feature of the nation's political life was the growing struggle between reactionary and progressive forces. Elections for the National Assembly took place in an involved setting on November 4, 1945. The Small Landowners Party, grouping reactionary and rightist forces, polled most votes (57 per cent). After the elections, the rightist forces expected to organise a counter-offensive against the forces of the people's democratic revolution. This

trend was opposed by the Communist Party supported by the working masses. The Communists stood for workers' control at factories. An Act nationalising all coal mines was passed at their insistence in December 1945. The left forces got Hungary declared a republic on February 1, 1946. They defeated the opponents of the agrarian reform. A financial reform was carried out at the Communists' urging on August 1, 1946. Large-scale heavy industry enterprises were being virtually nationalised in various localities. The nation's economy was made to develop according to plan as from January 1947.

The response of reactionary elements to progressive changes was to hatch a counter-revolutionary plot. Yet it was uncovered and failed late in 1946 and early in 1947. The Small Landowners Party purged itself of rightist forces and shifted leftward. In the elections for the National Assembly (Parliament) on August 31, 1947, the left-wing parties gained about half the seats and formed a government. That accelerated the conversion of the democratic revolution into a socialist one. An Act to nationalise banks was passed on November 27, 1947, and another one to nationalise industrial enterprises with a work force of over 100, on March 25, 1948. The public sector came to dominate the national economy. In June 1948, the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party merged to form a Hungarian Workers' Party. This contributed to definitely establishing the rule of the working class. Candidates of the Hungarian People's Front created earlier on, polled 95 per cent of all votes in an early election for the National Assembly on May 15, 1949. The Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic was adopted on August 18, 1949.

In the immediate post-war years, people's Hungary was shaping up its foreign policy. In 1947 Hungary signed a peace treaty and in 1948 she concluded a treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance with the USSR. She signed similar treaties with a number of People's Democracies.

Once on the track of socialist development, Hungary set about plan-based industrialisation, socialist reorganisation of farming and improving the people's living conditions. Certain headway was made in heavy industry in the early half of the 1950s, but other sectors ran

into serious difficulties; the political situation deteriorated, too. Problems for the nation and for the Hungarian Workers' Party arose from the cult of the personality of Mátyás Rákosi, the Party's General Secretary and subsequently Premier concurrently. On October 23, 1956, mass demonstrations began in Budapest. The Hungarian Workers' Party disintegrated. The Nagy Government, then in office, declared that Hungary was leaving the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and asked capitalist countries for military aid.

A new revolutionary centre headed by János Kádár, a Communist, was set up. A Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government was formed on November 3, which turned to the Soviet Union for help. The working peoples' rule was re-established with Soviet assistance. The Hungarian Workers' Party was reorganised into the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP). Hungary soon succeeded in bringing the political situation back to normal within a short space of time. The National Assembly elections in the autumn of 1958 showed that the nation's working people were solidly behind the HSWP candidates.

Hungary went on building up a socialist society. The socialist reorganisation of farming was essentially completed in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. Hungary became an industrial-agrarian socialist state. From the mid-1960s, the emphasis in Hungary was on intensive economic growth. Socialist democracy was being improved. The electoral law adopted late in 1966-early in 1967 provided for two and even more candidates to be nominated for each seat in parliament. A large amount of work was carried on to strengthen the co-operatives and state farms and to make them economically independent. A reform of the economic planning and management system was started on January 1, 1968. As Hungary carried out her five-year plans, she was creating new centres of power, engineering and chemical industries. Machine-building became a leading sector. New electric power stations, some of them atomic, appeared. Electronics, electrical engineering, vacuum industry and instrument-making were on the upgrade. Great attention was given to oil and gas production. Notable headway was made in agriculture. Large-scale mechanisation was

accomplished, industrial methods introduced, the farming community was supplied with a growing amount of machinery, and more mineral fertiliser and pest control chemicals and insecticides were applied.

However, negative phenomena began to develop in the country's economy, and by the 1980s, Hungary found herself in a state tantamount to an economic crisis. The 13th Congress of the HSWP in March 1985, indicated the ways for the utmost enhancement of the efficiency of production. The 1986-1990 plan laid emphasis on further scientific and technological progress. However, the measures outlined by the congress had little ground to support them. The nation had to address itself to the job of a fundamental overhaul and regeneration. The HSWP Congress (October 1989) came out for a new model of democratic socialism, renamed the Party the Hungarian Socialist Party. However, the quick radicalisation of the masses brought to the fore new parties and organisations. In the 1990 elections, the bloc of these parties won a victory and set about reorganising the former state and social structures. In foreign affairs, Hungary is speaking out against any moves likely to strain the international situation and for all action to preserve peace and ensure general security, for the nation's involvement in world economy.

## Romania

A people's democratic revolution broke out in Romania at the end of the war. However, the new government, appointed by King Michael after the overthrow of the Antonescu fascist dictatorship, was dominated by reactionary military and civilian leaders. Nevertheless, the influence of democratic parties and organisations was quickly rising. The People's Democratic Front created on September 24, 1944 (the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Ploughmen's Front and trade unions) put forward a programme of democratic reforms. Half a million people turned out for a demonstration on February 24, 1945, in support of the reforms and against the policy of bourgeois leaders in the government. Armed force was used to break it up. The bour-

geois government had to resign. A People's Democratic Front government was formed on March 6, 1945, headed by Petru Groza, the leader of the Ploughmen's Front. That meant that power passed into the hands of people's democratic forces.

In consequence, social-economic and political change went on faster. An agrarian reform under an Act passed on March 22, 1945, was a major event. Most of the expropriated land passed into the hands of 918,000 landless and land-poor peasants. There were other measures in the interest of working people. An 8-hour working day was introduced, a social insurance system established and equal pay for equal work fixed. Workers' control was introduced at factories. Fascist and other reactionary elements were chased away from the civil service. All those measures were carried out in the face of the resistance of reactionary elements and rightist forces and sabotage by the royal household. Disturbances were organised in Bucharest and other major cities on November 8, 1945, by the forces of reaction in an attempt to capture government and administration offices. The government, backed up by the people, effectively rebuffed the counter-revolutionaries.

The parliamentary elections on November 18, 1946, contributed towards strengthening the positions of people's democratic forces. They ended in a victory for the democratic forces and a defeat for those of reaction. With the people's support to rely on, the parliament approved a Bank Nationalisation Act on December 20, 1946. A currency reform was carried out. Reaction had to retreat. The bourgeois parties ceased to exist in 1947. And on December 30, 1947, King Michael abdicated. Romania was declared a people's republic and set out on a socialist way of development. The issue of power was decided in favour of the working class and its allies. The merger of Communists and Social Democrats in February 1948, to form a single Romanian Workers' Party strengthened the power of working people. The elections for the Grand National Assembly on March 28, 1948, ended in a victory for the People's Democratic Front (the Romanian Workers' Party, the Ploughmen and trade unions). The Constitution of the Romanian People's Republic was approved in April 1948.

Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Communist, became the leader of the RWP and Head of State.

A series of moves were made shortly afterwards with a view to the socialist reshaping of industry, finance and transport. The major industrial enterprises, mines, railways, banks and insurance companies were nationalised in Romania under the Act of June 11, 1948. A monopoly of foreign trade was introduced. The socialist sector became predominant in the cities, which enabled national economic planning. In March 1949, the Central Committee of the RWP called for producers' co-operatives to be formed by peasants.

People's Romania was evolving her foreign policy. She established a relationship of friendship with the USSR and the People's Democracies. In 1947 she signed a peace treaty. A Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and Romania was concluded on February 4, 1948. This treaty reinforced the international position of the Romanian People's Republic. She signed similar treaties with a number of People's Democracies and established normal diplomatic relations with capitalist countries as well.

The institution of the power of working people in Romania enabled her to start building the economic foundations of socialism. Paramount attention under five-year plans was given to speeding up the country's industrialisation and electrification. The base for industrialisation was laid with vast assistance from the Soviet Union. A wide range of heavy industry capacities was installed. Great attention was given to the socialist reorganisation of agriculture. Upwards of 80 per cent of the peasant households were involved in the socialist sector by 1960. The material condition of working people was steadily improving. Wages and salaries went up. Free education and health care were introduced. A new Constitution was adopted in 1952, with emphasis on the socialist mode of life. In December 1955, Romania was admitted to the UN.

The 1960s saw Romania appreciably expand her power-generating capacities, build up her iron and steel, engineering and petrochemical industries and modernise transport services and light and food industries. The socialist reorganisation of agriculture had been essential-

ly completed by the spring of 1962, thus bringing off an integrated socialist economy. Nicolae Ceaușescu was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the RWP in 1965 (the Romanian Communist Party since July 1965). Under the new Constitution of August 1965, Romania was declared a socialist republic (SRR). Within a short historical period, Romania developed into a socialist industrial-agrarian state. The 11th Congress of the RCP (1974) approved the Communist Party's programme for further socialist development. In 1974, Nicolae Ceaușescu was elected President of the SRR.

In the latter half of the 1970s, great attention in Romania was given to improving the functioning of the economic machinery and the civil service and upgrading the system of agricultural management. Measures were taken to enlarge working people's participation in management, step up the activities of government bodies and improve the performance of the civil service. An intense earthquake on March 4, 1977, caused material damage and heavy casualties.

Romania pursued an active foreign policy, with emphasis on the continued development of relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. Yet there was a difference of opinion between Romania and other countries of the socialist community on a number of foreign policy issues (as the crisis in Czechoslovakia, the Middle East conflict, and assessment of some aspects of the domestic situation and foreign policy of the PRC).

In the 1980s, the nation had to resolve further problems of promoting intensive economic growth, raising the efficiency of labour and production and providing more machinery and equipment for the national economy. The 13th Congress of the RCP (1984) set further priorities to meet in expanding the material and technical base resources and fuel-producing and raw material capacities and ensuring the country's economic independence. However, at the same time, Romania faced serious social and economic problems.

In her foreign policy, Romania was giving much prominence to relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. A Long-Term Programme for Economic, Scientific and Technological Co-operation between the USSR and the SRR for the period ending in 2000 was signed

in 1986. Romania had effective relations with developing nations and capitalist states. At the same time, Romania found herself afflicted with serious social-economic and political problems which provoked widespread resentment throughout the country. In a national uprising in December 1989, the authoritarian regime of Ceaușescu was overthrown.

### *Bulgaria*

The popular uprising of September 9, 1944, started off a socialist revolution in Bulgaria. It abolished the dictatorship of a fascist monarchy and brought working people to power. It was the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) that was the vanguard force in the revolution. The new government of Bulgaria, headed by Kimon Georgiyev, of the National Union "Zveno", had the Fatherland Front, a mass organisation, to fall back on. The Fatherland Front also comprised the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union (BAPU) and the Social Democratic Party. A purge of the civil service from profascist elements began right after the victory of the uprising. Workers' control was established at plants and factories, and the property of war criminals was confiscated. Private capitalist monopolies and trusts were abolished. Agricultural producers' co-operatives (APC) began to be created in the countryside under an Act passed in March 1945.

Political changes were of great importance. An Act was adopted on June 6, 1945, granting suffrage to all citizens over 19, including women and servicemen. Elections for the National Assembly, held on November 18, 1945, under that Act, were marked by a close political confrontation between right and left forces. The candidates of the Fatherland Front polled 88 per cent of the vote. Vasil Kolarov, a prominent leader of the BWP (Communists), was elected President of the National Assembly. The referendum of September 8, 1946, on the form of government was yet another major political development. The overwhelming majority of the voters went on record for the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republican system. On September 15, 1946, Bulgaria was declared a people's republic. In the elections for the Great National Assembly on October 27, 1946, the



Communists won 60 per cent of the seats. It was Georgi Dimitrov, a prominent leader of the Bulgarian and international working-class and communist movement, who headed the new government. On December 4, 1947, the Great National Assembly adopted a Constitution defining Bulgaria as a people's republic and fixing the revolutionary gains of the Bulgarian people. Acts were passed in December 1947 to nationalise banks, private industrial and mining enterprises, large-scale urban real estates, forest ranges, etc. This created the conditions for the nation's plan-based economic development.

There were some changes in the alignment of political forces during that period. The influence of the BWP (Communists) increased considerably. It had the Social Democratic Party unite with it on August 11, 1948. The Fatherland Front became an integrated social-political organisation. The "Zveno" and the Radical Party disbanded themselves early in 1949. The alliance of the BAPU and the BWP (Communists) was strengthened. All that contributed towards consolidating the social-political forces committed to socialist reform.

The basic priorities of the international activity of People's Bulgaria were set in the early post-war years. Its guiding principles were friendship and co-operation with the USSR and the People's Democracies. Bulgaria concluded treaties of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance with a number of socialist countries. She signed a peace treaty on February 10, 1947. Bulgaria got actively involved in the efforts to keep the peace and prevent another world war. In 1955, she was admitted to the UN.

Bulgaria's national economy was rebuilt by the end of 1948. Specific objectives to realise in laying the foundations of socialism were set at the 5th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party (as the BWP came to be called), in December 1948. Upwards of 700 industrial enterprises were built or reconstructed in the late 1940s and the early 1950s. New industries sprang up. Peasant co-operation on a mass scale began in the autumn of 1950. Sweeping tasks were accomplished through a cultural revolution. The material conditions of working people were improving. Todor Zhivkov was

elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP in 1954. The socialist sector became predominant both in industry and in agriculture as Bulgaria carried out her first two five-year plans by the late 1950s. Bulgaria turned from a backward agrarian country into an industrial-agrarian state.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Bulgaria was giving great attention to upgrading her economic performance and management. In January 1964, the Party and the government worked out the basic provisions of a new system of administration of the national economy, which was directed towards improving the system of planning and progressively introducing cost-accounting. The system of industrial management was reorganised late in 1970. Working people were increasingly involved in the running of production. The nation scored further notable achievements in economic growth. Some major capacities were put into service. The APCs were being economically consolidated and farming mechanised. Large-scale agro-industrial complexes with highly concentrated production began to be established. Socialist democracy was advanced and strengthened. The 10th Congress of the BCP adopted a new Programme. A new Constitution was approved in a nationwide poll on May 16, 1971, which sealed the triumph of the socialist type of social relations.

In the 1980s, Bulgaria stepped up efforts to intensify production, enhance the efficiency and quality of work, rationalise the exploitation of fuel and energy resources and consistently apply the new principles of economic management. A further drive was on to upgrade social relations and economic management and turn scientific and technological advances to good account at the point of production. The 13th Congress of the BCP early in April 1986, approved a strategy for accelerating the nation's social and economic development. Its essential objective was to carry through a technological revolution and promote all-round co-operation with the USSR. The Congress called for a basically novel kind of material and technological framework to be created in the space of 15 years, introducing the best of scientific and technological advances and establishing a modern infrastructure of production. Large-scale social-political activities to

reshape the life of society were launched in Bulgaria after that congress.

The July 1987 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the BCP found it premature to speak of creating an advanced socialist society and declared that the process under way was one of creating the foundations of socialism. However, progress towards the socialist renovation of the BPR was hampered by the government and Party leadership, headed by Todor Zhivkov, which was removed from office in November 1989. The mass action that took place in Bulgaria in November and December 1989, attested to the people's growing pressure for more democracy in the nation's political life and for its social and economic regeneration.

### *Yugoslavia*

As the war ended, Yugoslavia had a coalition government headed by Josip Broz Tito. And although it comprised bourgeois émigrés, it expressed the interests of working people. The Communists held key positions in the government. They initiated a socialist revolution, involving far-reaching changes with a view to establishing a democratic style of social and political life. Capitalist property was turned over to the people. Foreign trade was under state control as well. Acts on the freedom of the press, discussion and assembly were passed. Under the Agrarian Reform Act of August 23, 1945, the land was turned over to those who tilled it. In consequence, 797,000 hectares passed into individual peasant ownership. A Co-operatives Act was carried on June 18, 1946.

The political system of people's Yugoslavia was taking shape. Elections for the Constituent Assembly (Skupshchina) on November 11, 1945, were won by people's candidates. On November 29, 1945, the Skupshchina abolished the monarchy and proclaimed Yugoslavia a Federative People's Republic (FPRY). Under the Constitution, adopted on January 31, 1946, Yugoslavia became a federation of six republics—Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Macedonia, Slovenia and Montenegro. Serbia had an autonomous area called Vojvodina and an autonomous region Kosovo-Metohija.

The nation's parliament (People's Skupshchina) was elected for a term of 4 years. Social, economic and political change was going on amid close confrontation. Parties and organisations which were in opposition to socialism disappeared as this struggle went on. Yugoslavia had the support of the Soviet Union with which she had concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance as early as April 11, 1945.

People's government made great efforts to rebuild the economy and proceed to the plan-governed construction of socialism. Banks, industrial enterprises, transport services and the wholesale trade network were nationalised on December 5, 1946. New industrial capacities, electric power stations and highways began to be built. New industries, above all heavy industry, arose.

However, relations between Yugoslavia and the USSR and other socialist countries were disrupted in 1948 in consequence of the Stalin personality cult, which prejudiced both socialist development in the FPRY and the world socialist system. Yugoslavia geared her foreign policy to a closer relationship with the West.

After 1948, Yugoslavia started to devise and introduce new forms, structure and methods of economic and political administration which came to be defined as "self-governing socialism". Workers' councils were elected at plants and factories, vested with great planning rights. Commodity-money relations were used more effectively. Changes were made in the framework of government and executive authority. The emphasis in the countryside was on encouraging individual farms with land plots limited to 10-15 hectares. The Communist Party was reorganised. In 1952, it was renamed the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). The LCY Congress in 1958 adopted a new Programme. The 1953 Constitution established the principle of social self-government. Under it, Josip Broz Tito was elected President of the FPRY.

In 1953, the USSR took the initiative in normalising Soviet-Yugoslav relations. There were exchange visits at top level. That conduced to the rapid development of economic, scientific, technological and political links between Yugoslavia and the USSR. Normal relations were

re-established between Yugoslavia and other socialist countries. Yugoslavia played a great part in launching the Non-Aligned Movement.

Certain headway was made in Yugoslavia's development in the latter half of the 1950s. She attained the level of an industrial-agrarian state. Considering the level of economic and political changes, the country came to be called the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) under the 1963 Constitution.

Late in the 1960s and early in the 1970s, Yugoslavia encountered further problems. Anti-Party, anti-socialist and separatist, nationalistic elements moved into higher gear in the nation and in the LCY. Separatist unrest broke out in Croatia in the autumn of 1971. The Yugoslav leadership took serious measures to overcome the crisis developments. Nationalistic elements were dismissed from Party and government jobs. One factor to strengthen the nation's unity was the adoption of the new Constitution of the SFRY in February 1974, under which the federation's governing bodies were to be formed of representatives of all the republics and regions. National economic plans provided for faster-than-average growth rates of the country's economically underdeveloped regions. There was notable headway in upgrading the political system of self-government. Efforts were also made to raise the authority of the LCY and encourage more effective collective leadership of Party, government and public institutions at all levels. The annual rotation of their leaders was introduced in the late 1970s.

The Yugoslav economy ran into serious difficulties in the early half of the 1980s: growth rates declined, inflation mounted, prices and the foreign debt increased, etc. The standard of living was falling, unemployment continued, and there were strikes. Yugoslavia's Party and government leadership exerted great efforts to overcome the crisis developments. The Basic Guidelines for the Long-Term Programme for Economic Stabilisation and an Anti-Inflation Programme were approved in 1982, and so was a Long-Term Programme for Economic Stabilisation in July 1983.

Economic difficulties impaired the political situation. Unrest among ethnic Albanians broke out in the Kosovo

autonomous region in March and April 1981. It was serious enough for the government to declare a state of emergency in Kosovo. At the same time, it devised measures to bridge the gap between the levels of economic development of Kosovo and other regions. Yet the efforts to stabilise the area remained unproductive for a long time.

Elements of stagnation in the economy and political troubles seriously worried the Yugoslav Communists. The LCY produced a "Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Government" offering an assessment of the situation and proposing ways to normalise it. The 13th Congress of the LCY in June 1986, analysed the causes behind the crisis developments in the nation's economy, hostile anti-socialist trends and negative processes in ideology. A long-term national economic stabilisation programme was approved. However, in the late 1980s, the situation in Yugoslavia, as the LCY Central Committee admitted, became socially explosive. Spontaneous mass demonstrations in some places in 1988 and 1989 led to the resignation of certain government and Party leaders.

In international affairs, Yugoslavia adheres to her earlier commitment to full-scale involvement in the Non-Aligned Movement. Yugoslavia's co-operation with the USSR and other socialist countries is growing closer, and so are their positions on many international problems. Yet they differ in their assessment of the causes of international tension and of the developments involving Afghanistan and Cambodia.

## Albania

The national liberation struggle of the Albanian people, which had unfolded during the Second World War, escalated into a popular revolution. The revolutionary movement was led by the Communist Party of Albania, which headed the Democratic Front as well. The first stage of the revolution (1944-1946) was to achieve anti-fascist and anti-imperialist objectives. Following Albania's liberation from the fascist occupation, the people's government worked for national economic

recovery, promoted the public sector, created plan-changes. Industry and large-scale trade were progressively nationalised. Legislation on an agrarian reform was promulgated in 1945-1946. The landed estates of landlords, kulaks, and religious institutions were expropriated. Landless and landpoor peasants were provided with plots of land, free, up to 5 hectares per household. Upwards of 70,000 peasants received land, livestock and agricultural implements.

In the elections for the Constituent Assembly on December 2, 1945, the candidates of the Democratic Front polled over 93 per cent of the total vote. On January 11, 1946, the Constituent Assembly officially declared Albania a people's republic, and on March 14, it unanimously approved the Constitution. Enver Hoxha was First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and Mehmet Shehu, Head of Government. The people's revolution entered its second, socialist stage.

The revolutionary process in Albania involved a struggle against home-grown and external reaction. Counter-revolutionaries attempted to stage rebellions in some places with support from Western powers. The people of Albania had the Soviet Union at their side, which rendered economic and political support to it. Diplomatic relations were established between the USSR and Albania on November 10, 1945.

The 1st Congress of the CPA in November 1948 called for building the foundations of socialism. Great importance was attached to the country's industrialisation and the co-operation of its rural population. The congress renamed the CPA the Party of Labour.

The congress laid the ground for the construction of new enterprises and expansion of agricultural production. Albania developed from a backward agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial nation by as early as the mid-1950s. The co-operation of farming was completed in the latter half of the 1950s. By the late 1950s, socialist relations of production prevailed in Albania's economy.

From the early 1960s on, the Albanian leadership launched a so-called new deal in home and foreign policies. They put forward the theory of "self-reliance"

as the predominant method of building socialism. In international affairs, Albania put herself into a state of self-isolation from the countries of the socialist community and struck a posture of anti-Sovietism. Late in 1961, Albania broke off diplomatic relations with the USSR and then walked out of the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, and officially withdrew from the Warsaw Pact in 1968. The "new deal" held up Albania's socialist advance.

From the 1960s on, Albania was busy realising the objectives of building a socialist society and developing as an industrial-agrarian nation. However, her economic growth rates fell off. The practice of "leaps" borrowed from China had an adverse effect on the economy. The Albanian leadership had to give it up in the mid-1960s. But the difficulties in Albania's economic development persisted in the 1970s as well. In December 1976, the country began to be called the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, under the new Constitution. Relations between Albania and China, which had officially cut off economic and military aid to Albania, worsened in the late 1970s. That further complicated the process of socialist development in Albania.

In the early 1980s, the Albanian leadership concentrated on stabilising the economic situation and searching for a way out of the difficulties. The policy of self-isolation was coming up against growing opposition in the country. Mehmet Shehu died in 1981, and Enver Hoxha, in 1985. Adil Çarçani became Head of Government, and Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA. The new leadership reaffirmed its commitment to the earlier line in domestic and foreign policies, and so did the 9th Congress of the PLA in November 1986.

There has been a shift in Albania's foreign policy since 1990 towards normalising and developing relations with the USSR and other East European countries. Albania declared herself willing to join the European pro-nation with a view to promoting security and cooperation.



### § 3. Socialist Countries in Asia and Latin America

#### Mongolia

After the war, the MPR (Mongolian People's Republic) went on building a socialist society and strengthening its international positions. In a national referendum on October 20, 1945, its entire population spoke up for national sovereignty, thereby definitely rejecting the territorial claims of China under the Kuomintang regime. A Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance as well as an agreement on economic and cultural co-operation were concluded between the MPR and the USSR on February 27, 1946. The MPR increased its links with other countries.

The long-range (mostly, five-year) planning of national economic growth began in 1948. The emphasis was on promoting stock farming and consolidating the socialist sector in the countryside. Crop farming began to develop in the 1950s. The co-operation of the farming community was completed by the late 1950s. With assistance from the USSR, progress was made in prospecting, mining, processing and marketing of non-ferrous and rare metals. The fuel- and power-producing capacities were expanded, coal mines started and oil industry developed. The MPR was an agrarian-industrial nation by the late 1950s.

In February 1949, the People's Great Hural (Assembly) adopted a new electoral law proclaiming universal suffrage, which was a major political development. Horloogiyn Choybalsan was Prime Minister of the MPR at the time. The Constitution, adopted in 1960, laid it down that the MPR was a socialist state of workers, co-operative arats (peasants) and working-class and peasant intellectuals.

From the early 1960s on, the MPR committed itself to bringing off the construction of the material and technical base of socialism. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party rallied the working people for the job of continued industrialisation, mechanisation and intensification of agriculture. A large amount of work was being done with a view to a further organisational and economic consolidation of agricultural associations

and state farms. In consequence, the country gained appreciable achievements in advancing agricultural production, industry, transport, construction, and other sectors of the national economy. In 1961, the MPR became a member of the UN and in 1962, a member of the CMEA. A Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance was concluded between the MPR and the USSR in 1966.

In the 1970s and the 1980s, the MPR was developing under five-year plans which provided for a further expansion of social production, enhancement of its efficiency and improvement of the quality of work in all the sectors of the economy. Mongolia made notable headway in her social and economic development. At the same time, there were elements of stagnation, for instance, in stock farming in the 1970s.

In the early 1980s, the process of socialist development in the MPR went on in accordance with the Basic Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy and Culture of the MPR for 1981-1985. The construction of the joint Soviet-Mongolian Erdenet integrated copper and molybdenum mining and ore-dressing plant was brought to completion in 1983. The 19th Congress of the MPRP in May 1986 outlined the objectives and the ways of speeding up the nation's economic development under its latest five-year plan (1986-1990). From 1985 on, the MPR was busy carrying through a target programme for the development of agriculture and improvement of food supplies. In the late 1980s, the Party worked out and started to carry through measures for reshaping all areas of public life.

However, renewal processes in the country and the party were too slow. Under the pressure of the masses in 1990 the party and state leadership was replaced and, in consequence, the advance towards democracy in social and political life gained momentum.

Mongolia was actively involved in international affairs, working for peace and security in Asia and in the Pacific and for the promotion of good-neighbourly relations between the states of that region. Mongolia's co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries considerably broadened in the 1980s. The USSR

and other CMEA countries were lending assistance to the MPR in the construction and modernisation of industrial, social welfare and recreational facilities, national manpower training and geological prospecting. In 1985, the MPR and the USSR signed a Long-Term Programme for Economic, Scientific and Technological Co-operation for the period ending in 2000.

## Vietnam

There was a national popular democratic revolution in Vietnam in August 1945. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed on September 2. People's rule was based on an alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party. But the working people of Vietnam had formidable difficulties to overcome. The nation's economy was in dire straits. Hundreds of thousands of people were starving. There was a huge contingent of unemployed. Economic domination by exploiters had not yet been ended. Besides, British and Guomindang troops arrived in September 1945.

In those involved conditions, the Provisional Revolutionary Government, headed by Ho Chi Minh, was dismantling the old system of national administration and replacing it with people's councils. The popular forces won the elections for the National Assembly of the DRV on January 6, 1946. Great attention was given to building up the Armed Forces. Economic recovery was under way. Exorbitant taxes were abolished, ground rent reduced, and poor peasants provided with land. An 8-hour working day was introduced for workers, as were collective labour-employer agreements, basic minimum wage rates and the right to form trade unions. People's government moved to wipe out illiteracy. At the same time, it encouraged the activities of the patriotically-minded national bourgeoisie. The first Constitution of the DRV, consolidating the revolutionary gains of the people and the country's independence, was adopted on November 8, 1946.

In January 1946, the British and the Guomindang forces were replaced by the French invaders. The at-

tempts of the Government of the DRV to make a compromise arrangement with France did not succeed. The French colonisers strove to carve up Vietnam and resubjugate it. That sparked off the Vietnamese people's long struggle against the French aggression. On December 20, 1946, Ho Chi Minh called upon the Vietnamese people to rise in an all-out War of Resistance.

In the opening stage of the war, the position of the popular forces of Vietnam turned out to be rather precarious. By the middle of 1947, the French invaders had captured most of the country's territory. However, the people's resistance to the invaders mounted. Then France moved to establish a state under her henchman Bao Dai in South Vietnam in March 1949. The United States was also increasingly involved. Yet the Vietnamese people had the socialist nations at their side. The victory of a popular revolution in China was a factor of great importance for changing the situation in that region. In the early 1950s, the French invaders began to sustain one setback after another. The people's patriotic forces were getting consolidated. The Congress of the Communist Party of Indochina in February-March 1951, renamed it the Vietnam Workers' Party. The VWP Programme defined political power in the country as the democratic rule of the people (workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie). This conclusion was one of great importance for bringing together all the national patriotic forces within a single front (the National Unity Front of Vietnam).

All through the years of the War of Resistance, Vietnam's people's government was giving proper attention to economic problems and to the development and consolidation of the public sector. Steps were taken to nationalise the lands of the French colonisers and traitors to the people. More of the poor peasants were provided with plots of land. Progress was made in the field of culture, education and health care. In December 1953, the National Assembly approved an Agrarian Reform Act, turning the lands of landlords and foreign capitalists over to landless and land-poor peasants.

In 1953-1954, the Armed Forces of the DRV carried out strategic strikes at the invading forces. On May 7, 1954, the French suffered a crushing defeat in the Dien

Bien Phu Valley. Soon afterwards, France, Great Britain and the United States agreed on ending the foreign invasion of Indochina. At the Geneva Conference of 1954, it was decided to pull French troops out of North Vietnam (north of the 17th parallel) and subsequently from the South. The victory of the Vietnamese people had tremendous international repercussions. It meant establishing the first people's democratic state in South-East Asia.

Having defeated the French colonisers, the DRV set about resolving its problems of socialist development. It launched an economic recovery and development programme and a nation-wide effort to carry through an agrarian reform. Groups of mutual assistance and co-operatives began to be created. Capitalist enterprises were being progressively reorganised into mixed public-private ones. The economic recovery problems had been essentially resolved by the end of 1957. The new Constitution of the DRV was made public on January 1, 1960. It referred to the construction of socialism in the North and the struggle for the liberation of South Vietnam.

In the meantime, however, a landlord-comprador regime under Ngo Dinh Diem was being entrenched in South Vietnam with US aid and in violation of the Geneva Agreement. That part of Vietnam was being gradually converted into a US colony and military base. But there was a mounting liberation movement, with Guerrilla detachments coming into action and armed uprisings breaking out in various regions. The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam was created late in 1966.

In the early 1960s, the DRV got down to carrying out its first five-year plan. The working people addressed themselves to the job of socialist development with great enthusiasm. Steps were taken to raise the living standards. The social structure of the population changed; it was the working class that increased in numbers, first of all. The last vestiges of rural exploitation were being eliminated, and co-operative farming gained ground.

In this setting, a liberation struggle gathered momentum in South Vietnam. A South Vietnam Libera-

tion Army was formed in 1961. The mounting struggle led to an armed coup in South Vietnam on November 1, 1963. Ngo Dinh Diem was killed, and generals came to power. More coups ensued. Soon the US launched outright aggression against the DRV. It bombed its territory in August 1964, thereby starting a protracted war against the Vietnamese people. The DRV concentrated all its efforts to beat off the aggression. The Vietnamese people had at their side the socialist countries which lent them vast assistance, comprising arms supplies, to resist the aggression.

At the same time, the US was building up its war effort against Vietnam. There were nearly 500,000 American servicemen in the south in 1967. But South Vietnam's patriotic forces, far from being broken, began carrying out telling strikes at the US troops. Institutions of people's rule began to be established in the South. In 1968, the US had to stop the bombing of the DRV and agree to negotiations on a peace settlement. A Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam was formed in the country in 1969. From then on, the US began reducing its forces in South Vietnam. But in 1971-1972, the US once more subjected the territory of the DRV to saturation bombing. However, in 1973 it accepted to conclude the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam. The US and other countries withdrew their troops from Vietnamese territory.

In South Vietnam, the patriots kept on fighting against the reactionary regime. In the spring of 1975, the people's army, supported by the insurgent population, brought down the Saigon regime. The patriotic forces established their control over the whole of South Vietnam. In those conditions, the mass of the people spoke up for the unity of the North and the South. They registered their will at the general elections for the National Assembly on April 25, 1976. The elected delegates of the people voted on July 2, 1976, for a national reunification of Vietnam and the proclamation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV). So the Vietnamese people's struggle of many years was crowned with a victory.

At their 4th Congress in December 1976, the Vietnam-

ese Communists renamed the Party the Communist Party of Vietnam. The congress outlined the ways of the socialist revolution and socialist development and approved the basic guidelines for the second five-year plan (1976-1980). In September 1977, socialist Vietnam became a member of the UN, and in June 1978, a member of the CMEA. A Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between the USSR and the SRV was signed in November 1978. The USSR and other CMEA countries were assisting the SRV in its economic advance.

In the new stage of its development, the SRV encountered serious difficulties in its relations with China. Vietnam's internationalist aid to Kampuchea provoked a morbid reaction in Beijing. In 1979, Chinese troops invaded the territory of Vietnam. The Vietnamese people, repulsing the aggression, urged a peaceful settlement of the problems with China.

In the 1980s, the Vietnamese people worked hard to overcome the difficulties they had to face in the process of building socialism and assuring a peaceful environment for their development. A new Constitution was adopted on December 18, 1980, making a unicameral National Assembly the nation's top policy- and law-making body.

The basic guidelines for the economic growth of the SRV for 1981-1985 were approved at the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam in March 1982. The process of socialist development revealed difficulties and lapses along with achievements. The 1986-1990 five-year plan called for a fuller exploitation of manpower and natural resources and of all the available material and technical equipment for stabilising the social-economic situation. The 6th Congress of the CPV (December 1986) self-critically analysed the record of socialist development and outlined measures for resolving a number of urgent economic and social problems. The course was set for revitalising socialism and all spheres of social life.

In foreign affairs, the SRV was giving great attention to making South-East Asia a zone of peace and stability, normalising relations between the nations of the region and promoting fruitful dialogue between them. The SRV's co-operation with Laos and Kampuchea was growing closer. The SRV was getting extensive

support from the USSR and other socialist countries in peaceful construction and in the consolidation of its security. Some 250 projects of national economic importance were constructed in Vietnam with assistance from the Soviet Union. In 1989, Vietnam was actively involved in the process of a peace settlement in Cambodia. All the Vietnamese troops had been withdrawn from the territory of Cambodia by September 1989.

### *The Democratic People's Republic of Korea*

There were favourable opportunities for a people's democratic revolution in Korea following her liberation from Japanese colonial rule. But only in the North were those opportunities actually used, with institutions of people's government established and the Japanese colonial administration system eliminated. The Korean Communists, with Kim Il Sung at their head, led the revolutionary process in North Korea. It comprised the freedom of operation of democratic parties and organisations as well as trade unions. People's committees set about putting through agrarian reforms and handing the land taken away from the Japanese and the native landlords to poor peasants and farm labourers.

By decision of the Moscow Conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, the US and Great Britain (December 1945), Korea ought to have become a united sovereign democratic state. However, the US and the South Korean reactionary elements, with Syngman Rhee at their head, thwarted the implementation of that decision. A reactionary regime, dependent on the US, entrenched itself in South Korea. At the same time, North Korea started carrying out wide-ranging democratic changes. On March 5, 1946, the Provisional People's Committee (Government) of North Korea passed an Agrarian Reform Act. Under it, about a million hectares of arable land were expropriated and turned over to the peasantry. The Labour Act of June 1946, established an 8-hour working day, equal pay for equal work, and social insurance. Women were granted equal rights, and a full-scale effort to wipe out illiteracy was launched. An Act on nationalising industry, transport,



banks and commerce was adopted on August 10, 1946. The people's government held key positions in the economy. Along with that, the petty bourgeoisie and some of the middle classes were allowed to develop their enterprising activities under the popular government's supervision.

The changes in the alignment of the political forces made it possible to create, in June 1946, a United Democratic National Front, comprising the Communist Party, democratic parties and organisations. In August 1946, the Korean Communist Party and the New People's Party formed the North Korean Workers' Party. The general elections late in 1946 and early in 1947 were a major political development. A People's Assembly, to become the supreme vehicle of state power, was elected at the 1st Congress of People's Committees in February 1947. The general democratic and anti-feudal objectives of the revolution were essentially resolved, and a start was made in shaping the socialist sector in the economy.

The popular and patriotic forces of North and South Korea were pressing for the creation of an integrated democratic state. The leaders of the political parties and public organisations of both parts of Korea went on record in 1948 for the holding of free elections to create integrated government bodies throughout the country. Such elections were held in July 1948. The reactionary forces in South Korea attempted to sabotage them, but they failed to do so. In September 1948, the Supreme People's Assembly, made up of the deputies elected in the North and the South, proclaimed the establishment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). Its Constitution was adopted and a government under Kim Il Sung formed. At the request of that government, the USSR moved its forces out of North Korea. However, the US and reactionary elements in the South proceeded to divide Korea. On August 15, 1948, they formed a "Republic of Korea" in the South. Its government asked the US not to pull its troops out of the southern part of the country. The working people of South Korea reacted to that by staging strikes and armed uprisings.

Following its proclamation, the DPRK set about the

process of plan-governed construction of a new type of society. However, the South Korean regime provoked a war against the DPRK on June 25, 1950. The US had some other nations involved in the aggression. The people's army of the DPRK not only pushed back the invaders, but liberated over 90 per cent of the territory of the South within a short space of time. Then American troops landed on the coast behind the lines of the people's army which had to retreat to the borders of the PRC. Detachments of Chinese people's volunteers came to the aid of the DPRK. North Korea was liberated by the end of December 1950. In July 1951, the US and its allies accepted the idea of negotiations. An armistice agreement was signed on July 27, 1953, establishing the line of demarcation between the North and the South along the 38th parallel.

In the course of hostilities, vast damage was done to the economy of the DPRK. The country's working people, responding to an appeal from the North Korean Workers' Party, joined the national economic recovery and development efforts. This was coupled with resolving the problems of socialist change. The country was engaged in carrying out an industrialisation programme in the latter half of the 1950s. A movement to set up rural co-operatives got under way in August 1953. The process of peasant co-operation was completed in the autumn of 1958. Socialist relations of production were established in the countryside, too. Cultural development was also under way.

In foreign affairs, the DPRK government was working for the country's peaceful reunification. Numerous initiatives to this end were addressed to the National Assembly and the public of South Korea. A proposal to create a confederation of North and South Korea as a stepping-stone to national unity was put forward in 1960. However, the South Korean authorities rejected all initiatives of this kind.

The process of creating the material and technical base of socialism continued in the DPRK in the 1960s. The North Korean Workers' Party called upon the country's working people to work towards creating a socialist industrial state. In carrying on the socialist development process and working for the country's

peaceful unification, the DPRK relied on help and support from the socialist nations. A Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the DPRK was signed in July 1961. The reconstruction of industry and agriculture went on with assistance from the USSR and other socialist countries. National high-skilled manpower was trained, and the general educational standards of the population rose.

It was declared at the 5th Congress of the NKWP in November 1970, that the DPRK had developed into a socialist industrial state. The congress approved the Directives for the National Economic Development Plan of the DPRK for 1971-1976. A Socialist Constitution of the DPRK was adopted in 1972. In 1978-1984, the DPRK was busy carrying out a seven-year national economic development plan. A dialogue between the DPRK and South Korea about the basic principles of the country's unification began in 1972. But at a later stage, the South Korean authorities wound up the negotiations. In 1973, the DPRK received an official observer status at the UN.

During the 1980s, the DPRK went on building up the material and technical base of socialism. Resolutions on this subject were passed at the 6th Congress of the KWP in October 1980. The fulfilment of the seven-year plan (1978-1984) meant expanding gross industrial production by 2.2 times. In 1987-1993, the DPRK was working to attain the targets of the third seven-year plan. In foreign affairs, it proposed creating a "Democratic Confederative Republic of Koryo" by uniting the North and the South, while preserving the political systems as they exist in both parts of the country.

#### China

There was the Guomindang government under Chiang Kai-shek in power throughout most of China after the end of the war. In the northern and north-eastern regions (Liberated Regions) power was in the hands of the national liberation forces led by the Communist Party. The CPC proposed to resolve the problems with

the Guomindang government peacefully. Negotiations between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the CPC, took place in August through October 1945. They showed that the Guomindang government had no intention of recognising the CPC's leadership of the Liberated Regions. Soon afterwards, the Guomindang resumed combat operations against the People's Liberation Army. However, the latter had previously succeeded in appreciably strengthening its positions, particularly in the territory of Manchuria liberated from the Japanese by Soviet forces. The USSR turned over the arms, ammunition and other military equipment captured from the Japanese to the People's Liberation Army. At the same time, at the Moscow Conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Three Powers, the USSR secured their consent to contribute towards uniting and democratising China and preventing a civil war. It was likewise decided to withdraw the Soviet and American forces from China within the shortest possible time-limits.

Thereupon, agreement was achieved between the Chiang Kai-shek Government and the CPC, with American mediation, about the terms of a peace settlement and the creation of an all-China coalition government. However, Chiang Kai-shek went back on that agreement and launched massive military operations against the Liberated Regions in July 1946. From July to October 1946, the Guomindang forces overran much of the territory of the Liberated Regions. However, the population of China did not support Chiang Kai-shek's policy. At the same time, the Communist Party put forward its slogans, committing itself, notably, to providing the landless and land-poor peasants with land, which won over the masses.

A turn of the tide in the civil war began as early as late 1946. In 1947, many operations of the Guomindang troops proved ineffective. At the same time, the Chiang Kai-shek regime in Guomindang-controlled China started to disintegrate. Besides, the US had to set about pulling its forces out of China in April 1947 (the USSR had pulled out its troops in May 1946). In June 1947, the People's Liberation Army launched a general offensive. In a Declaration of October 10, 1947, it formulated

the general national and general democratic priorities, including the objective of eliminating the Guomindang regime by force of arms. The Declaration called upon the various population groups to set up a united national front. At the same time, the CPC drew up and published the Basic Provisions of a Land Act which went far towards intensifying the peasant struggle against Chiang Kai-shek's rule. Organisations expressing the interests of the national bourgeoisie started going over to the side of the CPC.

The victories of the People's Liberation Army in 1948 compelled Chiang Kai-shek to offer to the CPC to begin peace negotiations (January 1, 1949). The negotiations began at Beiping on April 1, 1949. But the Guomindang top leadership declined the draft agreement. After that, the people's armies launched a general offensive and liberated all mainland China within a short space of time. The People's Republic of China was declared on October 1, 1949, with Mao Zedong as Head of Government.

China entered a new stage of her development. The military operations throughout national territory had been essentially over by the middle of 1950. Tibet was incorporated in the PRC in 1951. Only Taiwan remained outside the PRC's control. The remnants of the Guomindang regime entrenched themselves there. To all intents and purposes, they turned Taiwan over to the control of the US which converted it into its military base. The struggle against counter-revolutionary bands went on in some areas of the PRC until the middle of 1952.

In the opening stage of its development, the PRC was primarily concerned with resolving anti-feudal and anti-imperialist problems. The landed estates were abolished under the Land Reform Act which came into force on June 30, 1950. Some of the lands were nationalised, and some were left as private peasant property. About 300 million landless and land-poor peasants received their own land under the Act. There was also the process of creating and consolidating the public sector under way. Large-scale enterprises, banks, and railway transport passed into the hands of the state. Private national capital was restricted and regulated by state control. A major effort was launched to stamp out

corruption, wasteful practices and bureaucracy. China received extensive support from the Soviet Union with which she concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance on February 14, 1950. The Soviet Union granted China a credit on easy terms and provided assistance in the construction and modernisation of major industrial enterprises.

With the economic recovery essentially completed in 1953, the PRC proceeded to carry out socialist reforms, above all, a socialist industrialisation programme. The Constitution of people's China was adopted at the first session of the National People's Congress in 1954. The session formed government bodies. Liu Shaoqi became Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Mao Zedong was elected Chairman of the PRC, and Zhou Enlai became Head of Government. In 1953-1957, the PRC was busy carrying out its first five-year plan of national economic development. The emphasis was on national industrialisation. It was coupled with an effort to make socialist changes in the countryside. Large-scale private enterprises were converted into mixed state-private ones. The nationalisation of industry had been carried through by June 1956. Within a short space of time, the PRC made great strides in its economic advance.

However, as time went on, the PRC encountered serious difficulties arising from Mao Zedong's "special course". The co-operation of the countryside was pursued at a forced pace. The process of peasant co-operation had been completed by 1956. But such a pace provoked resistance both from the mass of the peasants and from the Party. The 8th Congress of the CPC (1956) denounced forward-thrusting in socialist development and outlined realistic plans for the economic growth of the PRC. However, in the summer of 1957, Mao Zedong and his supporters took up the cudgels against the "rightist bourgeois elements" and set about chasing the opponents of their "special course" out of the Party.

In 1958, the Party leadership launched the so-called Great Leap for the attainment of socialism "ahead of schedule". The second five-year plan assignments were increased several times over, which was beyond the nation's actual possibilities. A "backyard" steel-making

campaign got under way. Co-operatives were converted into "people's communes". "Barrack-room communism" was introduced. The result was the total disorganisation of the national economy. The failure of the Great Leap became quite evident in 1960. The "special course" led to disruptions of the CPC's relationship with other Communist Parties and the bonds of friendship the PRC had with the USSR. The PRC's relations with India became strained, too.

Measures to undo the most negative consequences of the Great Leap were taken in the PRC in the early 1960s. The effect was to stop the decline of production by the close of 1962, and also to end the most adverse "egalitarian" practices. The CPC leadership launched a campaign against "revisionism" in the international communist movement. But all it did was to estrange China, step by step, from foreign Communist parties and also from other socialist countries. Ideological and political struggles sharpened in the PRC in 1963. The followers of Mao Zedong went out of their way to cultivate the worship of this personality. There were all kinds of purges. In foreign affairs, Mao Zedong was committing China to a hegemonistic and nationalistic course. He was bringing her into a closer relationship with Japan and Pakistan as well as into increasing opposition to the Soviet Union and India.

Early in 1966, Mao Zedong, backed by his followers, embarked on a "cultural revolution". It was the Chairman's wife, Jiang Qing, who was the principal adviser in carrying it out. The "cultural revolution" worked out as a means of repression of many prominent PRC leaders. There was a crackdown on Party officials. Youth were recruited into detachments of "hongweibing" ("red guards") and "zaofan" (rebels) who hounded those questioning loyalty to Mao Zedong. The nation found itself in a state of civil conflict. In a number of places leaders and masses came out against the "cultural revolution" and opposed the hongweibing. At the same time, the "hongweibing" movement began getting out of Maoist control. That led to action being taken in August 1968, to disband the hongweibing organisation. The "cultural revolution" brought the Minister of Defence of the PRC, Lin Biao, to the fore as Mao Zedong's successor.

The cultural revolution inflicted immense moral and material damage on China and threw her economy way back. The foreign policy of the PRC underwent major change. The "special course" denounced the USSR as China's main enemy. There were some acts of armed provocation on the Sino-Soviet border (notably, in the area of the Damansky Island in March 1969). In the meantime, China was looking for ways towards a closer relationship with the US.

The excesses of the "cultural revolution" intensified the infighting in China and in the CPC. Mao Zedong's "successor", Lin Biao, died in an air crash under mysterious circumstances on September 13, 1971. The 10th Congress of the CPC (1973) declared him to have been a plotter. Mao Zedong died on September 9, 1976. In consequence, the struggle sharpened again and Mao Zedong's wife and her three associates were arrested ("the gang of four") and sentenced to death (the sentence has never been carried out). Now, it was Deng Xiaoping, once General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC, who became the Party's virtual leader. The 11th Congress of the CPC (1977) announced that the "cultural revolution" was over and that China had entered a "new period of development". The December 1973 plenary meeting of the CPC Central Committee was a turning-point in the life of China. A new policy was launched, that of 'four modernisations' (of industry, agriculture, national defence, science and technology). The anti-Soviet course was continued in foreign policy. The basic provisions of the ten-year national economic development plan for 1976-1985 were approved at the session of the National People's Congress in 1978. It projected major headway in carrying out a four-modernisation programme to cover agriculture, industry, defence, science and technology. However, at the turn of the 1980s, China's economy faced serious crisis problems.

In the early 1980s, China began looking for a way out of the crisis. The nation's domestic and foreign policies exhibited some features of realism. Soviet-Chinese negotiations were resumed, complicated though they were by the PRC's special position with regard to Afghanistan, Kampuchea and the MPR. The 12th Congress of the



CPC in 1982 condemned the Mao Zedong personality cult and his mistakes. It heard suggestions about a possible improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations. The sixth five-year plan for national economic development in 1981-1985 was approved in December 1982, its priorities being to streamline the economy and enhance the efficiency of production. It started off a drive to reshape the economic and political mechanism of China. The economic reform provided for greater enterprise independence and cost-accounting. The principle of material incentives was extended to agricultural production. The people's communes were abolished, and the household contract was introduced. The peasants once more received their subsidiary plots. The Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CPC in October 1984, passed a resolution "On a Reform of the Economic System", specifying the objectives to realise in building a specifically Chinese socialism. Great attention was given to attracting foreign capital. Four economic zones and 14 port cities were set apart to that end. In 1986-1990, the PRC was carrying out its seventh five-year national economic development plan. The nation's average annual economic growth rate prior to this latest period was 11 per cent. China succeeded in stocking up enough grain and cotton to meet the national demand.

The 13th Congress of the CPC (1987) reviewed the progress of reform for 9 years and formulated a comprehensive programme for the continued upgrading of all areas of life. It was pointed out at the congress that the nation was in the initial stage of socialism. Its resolutions referred to the necessity of promoting specifically Chinese socialist political democracy. There were difficulties and shortcomings in the process of reform. Major clashes between students and soldiers of the Armed Forces caused numerous casualties in Beijing and some other cities early in June 1989. These events indicated the need for a further reshaping of China's political system and for more democracy in it.

The people's material well-being increased, as did the external economic links of the PRC, including those with the Soviet Union.

Laos

Until the Second World War, Laos had formed part of the French colonial empire. During the war, it was occupied by Japan. The Lao people fought against foreign invaders and declared the independence of Laos (the Pathet Lao) on October 12, 1945. Early in 1946, the French reoccupied the country. But the Laotians did not want the foreign oppressors to come back, and rose in arms once again. A government of national Resistance was created in Laos in August 1950. But it was only under the 1954 Geneva Agreements that the independence of Laos was established. After that, France withdrew her forces from that country. But the armed struggle of the patriotic forces of Laos against domestic and international reaction went on for a further 20 years. The struggle was led by the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos (PRPL), formed in 1955. In 1956, the country's progressive forces created the Lao Patriotic Front which had the country's northern and eastern regions under its control.

A civil war began in Laos in 1960. The areas controlled by the patriotic forces were subjected to saturation bombardment. Large sections of world opinion came out at the side of the patriots of Laos. An international conference on Laos in Geneva in 1962 declared recognition of, and respect for the sovereignty, independence and neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of Laos. It supported the accord of three main political groups on ending the hostilities and forming a government of national unity.

However, the rightist forces soon provoked a resumption of hostilities. American bombardment of the liberated regions of Laos was resumed in May 1964. The state of civil war and foreign intervention in the affairs of Laos continued into 1973. An agreement to restore peace and achieve national unity was signed in Vientiane on February 21, 1973. By that time, the Lao Patriotic Front already controlled four-fifths of the country's territory, thus laying the foundations of a people's democratic system. The mass struggle mounted in the zone which was still under rightist control. In 1975, the people's democratic forces won out there, too. The

formation of people's revolutionary institutions of government was completed throughout the territory of Laos. A National Congress of People's Representatives in December 1975, abolished the monarchy and declared a Lao People's Democratic Republic. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the PRPL, Kayphone Phommvihane, became Head of Government of the LPDR. The PDRL set course for creating conditions in Laos for passing over to building socialism, while skipping capitalism. A public sector began to take shape, and private banks were nationalised. Private sector enterprises were brought under state control. Various forms of rural co-operativisation began to develop. The LPDR spoke out for a foreign policy of peace and got down to building and consolidating relations with the USSR, the SRV, and other socialist countries. LPDR representatives got actively involved (as observers) in the deliberations of the CMEA. The LPDR was giving great attention to promoting a closer relationship of friendship with the SRV and Kampuchea. They were jointly working for an assured peace and security in the region.

In 1981, Laos started to carry out its first five-year plan for national economic development (1981-1985). Great help in carrying it out was given by the Soviet Union and other socialist nations. The 3rd Congress of the LPRP in April 1982 mapped a programme for building the foundations of socialism in Laos. The second five-year plan for national economic development began to be implemented in the LPDR in 1986. The 4th Congress of the LPRP in November 1986, carried forward and specified the plan for building the foundations of socialism in Laos.

In 1988, the restructuring of the economic machinery began. There were elections to the Supreme People's Assembly on March 26, 1989. The Constitution of the LPDR was drafted.

### Cuba

After the end of the Second World War, Cuba had a government of the Cuban Revolutionary Party (CRP) headed by Grau San Martín (since 1944). It was

following in the wake of American policy, supported the Cold War and maintained a negative stand in respect of the socialist countries. Progressive elements which existed within the Party created, in 1946, a Party of the Cuban People (the Orthodoxo) led by Eduardo Chibás Rivas. Besides, there was the People's Socialist (Communist) Party acting against the anti-people policy of the ruling circles. The authorities wreaked harsh repression on the progressive forces. Having crushed the Confederation of Cuban Workers in October 1947, they backed up a new trade union organisation led by a reactionary leader Eusebio Mujal.

The presidential elections in 1948 were won by a CRP representative. But that was followed by a further rightward shift. The growing mass discontent led to an armed coup carried out by a henchman of reactionary forces, General Batista, on March 10, 1952, establishing a dictatorship in Cuba. In consequence the country was falling into yet greater dependence on the US.

The sharpening contradictions accelerated the process of creating the prerequisites for an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in Cuba. A group of young Orthodoxes with Fidel Castro Ruz, a lawyer, at their head, was playing an increasingly prominent part in the anti-dictatorial struggle. On July 26, 1953, a group of revolutionaries, led by Fidel Castro, attacked the Moncada barracks in Santiago. Although that attack was defeated, it signalled the start of the Cuban Revolution. Recovering from that first setback, Fidel Castro and his companions organised an armed contingent in Mexico in 1956 and sailed in a yacht, the *Granma*, to Cuba. There, Castro's detachment rapidly swelled to become a guerrilla army. The fighting front was widening. The People's Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Directorate, a student organisation, played quite an important part in it.

The consolidated links between the insurgents and the masses ensured a major success in the struggle against the dictatorship. The detachments of the insurgent army, backed by workers, entered Havana on January 2, 1959. The people's revolution in Cuba triumphed. Power passed into the hands of a provisional revolutionary government. The regime of the dictatorship was eliminated. Revolu-

change in the interest of the people began. Fidel Castro was appointed Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government on February 16, 1959. Urgent measures were taken to improve the living conditions of working people. An agrarian reform began to be carried out as from May 1959. A year later, Cuba established diplomatic relations with the USSR, which accorded her economic and political assistance.

Social and economic reforms in Cuba were taking place amid a pitched battle not only against the domestic counter-revolution but also against intervention from without. The US imposed an economic blockade on Cuba and broke off diplomatic relations with her early in 1961.

In April 1961, the revolution in Cuba entered a new, socialist stage. A large proportion of landed estates and capitalist property were expropriated. Power was concentrated in the hands of the working masses as the "democracy of the armed people". Revolutionary organisations were being consolidated, brought closer together and amalgamated. As the revolution in Cuba struck root, the US went as far as to give outright armed support to the counter-revolution. Some detachments of armed mercenaries landed in Cuba, with its help, on April 17, 1961. But they were quickly put to rout. In October 1962, the US established a naval blockade of Cuba, which produced the worst ever international crisis ("Caribbean crisis").

That was the involved setting in which the process of socialist development in Cuba went on. The country's economic backwardness, a shortage of raw materials, skilled manpower and hard currency, flawed organisation and sometimes erroneous methods of economic management held up its advance. Planning began to be introduced as a principle of national economic development in Cuba since 1962. Paramount importance in drawing up economic programmes was attached to sugar cane production and stock breeding. Sugar refineries were technologically modernised with assistance from the USSR, which enabled sugar production to be substantially increased. Notable headway was made in the power, mining, petroleum refining and chemical industries. Capital and housing construction were on the upgrade,

as was national manpower training and the living standards of working people, while unemployment became a thing of the past. The introduction of universal free general education and health-care as well as the expansion of the insurance and social security system were further major gains of the Cuban people.

The revolutionary vanguard of the Cuban people was in the process of consolidation. Three revolutionary organisations (the July 26 Movement, the People's Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Directorate) were brought together in July 1961, to form the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations reorganised into a United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba in 1962 and a Communist Party of Cuba in 1965. Further advances were made in socialist democracy. A new Constitution came into effect in February 1976, stating that Cuba was a socialist state.

In the latter half of the 1970s, great attention was given to upgrading the machinery of national economic management and planning and the application of the principles of cost-accounting. Private farms began to be turned into collective ones in 1977. But because of internal and external causes, notably the falling price of Cuban sugar on the world market, the country's economic conditions remained hard. Cuba had to make an extra effort to build up national defence capability.

During the years of people's rule, the Republic of Cuba turned into a dynamically developing socialist nation.

It built 1,100 industrial enterprises, 2,700 agricultural production units, 150 major medical centres and 1,700 institutions of general education. In the early half of the 1980s, Cuba was annually producing around 8 million tons of sugar. The 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba in February 1986, called for faster national industrialisation.

In 1987, the process of "rectification", or amelioration of the past mistakes and negative tendencies began on Cuba. In April 1989, during the negotiations between Mikhail Gorbachev and Fidel Castro on Cuba, both parties emphasised that socialism is at the turning-point, that many problems of social development assumed a different dimension.

## THE CAPITALIST WORLD. THE USA AND CANADA

### § 1. The United States of America

*The Economic and Political Situation of the US in the Early Post-War Years. The Presidency of Harry Truman (Democrat).* The United States of America was the only major capitalist country to have strengthened itself economically and militarily during the years of the Second World War. Neither its territory nor its population suffered from any foreign invasion or military destruction. The US used the war time demand for considerable production growth.

After the Second World War, the value of US industrial production was equal to two-thirds of the combined industrial output of all capitalist countries. The US had 73 per cent of the world's gold reserves.

The war contributed not only towards speeding up its economic growth rates but also towards advancing state-monopoly tendencies in the US and faster concentration and centralisation of production and capital.

The US substantially expanded its armed strength. It established 2,367 military bases around the world. It had a monopoly of atomic weapons. The Truman Administration (1945-1952) committed itself to a policy of militarisation in every area of community life. The military came to play an ever greater role in national government and their alliance with business laid the foundations of the military-industrial complex.

Soon after the end of the war, contradictions between labour and capital sharpened. Large-scale strike struggles broke out as early as 1945. There was a major strike of General Motors workers in November and December 1945. But the subsequent year, 1946, saw a far more sweeping strike movement, involving steel and power

workers, coal-miners and railwaymen, a total of over 4.6 million pressing their demands, mostly pay claims. Federal authorities quite often intervened in the conflict between labour and employers to defend the latter's interests.

The workers' active involvement in strike struggles made for their growing class consciousness and rising standards of organisation. In 1946, there were around 15 million blue- and white-collar workers grouped in labour unions in the US, including the American Federation of Labor (AFL) with a membership of over 7 million, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), with a membership of 6 million. Progressive organisations became active in the early post-war years. There were some new organisations, as the Civil Rights Congress. Altogether, there were about 200 organisations of this kind. The Communist Party of the United States was in the forefront of the democratic movement. It had William Z. Foster as Party Chairman and Eugene Dennis as General Secretary, both elected at its congress in July 1945.

The mounting strike movement alarmed the US ruling establishment. All kinds of authorities joined a crusade against democracy. On March 22, 1947, President Truman signed an order for a checkup on the loyalty of civil servants. Progressively-minded officials were chased out. It was in the same year, 1947, that the House Committee on Un-American Activities was created.

On June 23, 1947, US Congress approved the Taft-Hartley Labor Management Relations Act which imposed restrictions on the strike and trade union movement. The reactionary offensive and reformist tactics of labour leaders had the effect of scaling down the strike movement.

The US ruling circles set course for establishing the world supremacy of American monopolies. US foreign policy began to be geared to confronting the USSR. A turn from co-operation to confrontation came about in Soviet-American relations late in 1945 and early in 1946. In 1946, George Kennan of the Department of State put forward his theory of "containment of Russian expansionist tendencies" which became the official US doctrine.

The new policy found specific expression in the Truman Doctrine of March 12, 1947, and the Marshall Plan of



June 5, 1947. At the Inter-American Defence Conference on September 2, 1947, the US secured the signing of an Inter-America Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (the Rio Pact), and an Organisation of American States (OAS) was set up in Bogota in the spring of 1948. The US was tightening its control over Latin American states under the cloak of propaganda about the threat of "Communist aggression". In 1948, the US helped create the military Western Union and in 1949 it joined with other capitalist countries in setting up the North Atlantic bloc (NATO).

The militarisation of the economy, the arms race, foreign economic expansionism and renewal of fixed capital led to a certain growth of production in 1947-1948. But crisis developments made themselves felt by the end of 1948. Total industrial production shrank by 10.4 per cent from September 1948 to July 1949. The economic crisis and the attendant deterioration of the condition of working people brought about an accentuation of the class struggle. From 1949 on, the strike movement was progressively mounting, reaching something like the 1946 scope in 1950. Most of the strikes were, as before, in support of the demands for higher wages, a shorter working day, pensions and insurance.

There was a sharpening struggle between the progressive forces and the partisans of reactionary policies. On July 20, 1948, the US judicial authorities sanctioned the arrest of twelve members of the National Committee of the Communist Party, including William Foster, Eugene Dennis, and Gus Hall. It led to a long-drawn-out case against the Communist Party, aimed at outlawing it. The court sentenced eleven leaders of the Communist Party (the Foster case was deferred because of his illness) to different terms of imprisonment and a mammoth fine.

There was an intensified peace movement in 1949. Progressive organisations held hundreds of meetings and conferences against the establishment of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc. There was the National Trade Union Conference for Peace in 1949, an American Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace in New York on March 25, 1949, and a National Labor Conference for Peace in Chicago in October 1949, which was attended by close on 1,200 delegates. In February 1950, the National Labor Conference launched a drive to collect signatures

to a petition for a conference of representatives of the US and the USSR, and another one got under way in May, to collect signatures to the Stockholm Appeal. The Peace Champions' Information Centre, led by William DuBois, a prominent Black progressive leader, created in April 1950, was active in that campaign. In the end, about 2.5 million signatures were collected to the Stockholm Appeal.

*The US at the Time of the Growing Cold War (1950s).*  
*The Republican Administration of Dwight Eisenhower in Office.* With the outbreak of the war in Korea, anti-communist propaganda intensified, affecting large sections of the population. Only left forces were opposing the war. "Hands Off Korea!" and "We Want Peace!" meetings and demonstrations took place in many localities.

The offensive of reactionary forces against democracy assumed particularly large proportions as the Korean War went on. Anti-communist Bills were tabled, one after another, in US Congress in June through August 1950. On September 23, 1950, Congress approved the McCarran-Wood Law whereby members of the Communist Party and other progressive organisations had to register at the Department of Justice as "agents of a foreign Power".

There was no let-up in the arrests and trials of Communists, progressive and labour leaders for several years in a row. In the summer of 1952, US Congress approved a new reactionary law, the McCarran-Walter Act, directed against foreign-born Americans.

The reprisals did not stop the peace movement. An American People's Congress for Peace met in Chicago in July 1951, attended by 6,000 delegates from all the states of the nation, which called for an end to the war in Korea.

The attitude to the Korean War was a prominent election campaign issue in 1952. The Republican Party fielded General Dwight Eisenhower, popular in the US as a World War II veteran, as its candidate. Large sections of the American population hoped that Eisenhower would be able to put an end to the gruelling war in Korea and voted for him. The Republican Government with Eisenhower as President came to office, following the 1952 elections. Once in office, Eisenhower carried out his promise to end the war. An armistice agreement was concluded in Korea on July 27, 1953.

President Eisenhower defined his government's course of action as "dynamic conservatism". The Eisenhower Administration scaled up federal intervention in the economy, carried through some plans for road-building, housing and school construction, and expanded the system of medical insurance and social security. However, the US economy experienced considerable recessions in 1953-1954 and in 1957-1958.

The US reactionary elements and military establishment, having a stake in a hard line, got the Eisenhower Government to intensify the checkup on the loyalty of civil servants, the registration of Communist Party members as "agents of a foreign Power" under the McCarran-Wood Law, and to bring off the provocative frame-up trial of the Rosenberg couple who were executed in June 1953, accused of "atomic espionage".

Back in February 1950, Senator Joseph McCarthy (Rep., Wisconsin), declared that he had discovered "250 Communists" in the US State Department. With the Republicans in office in 1952, McCarthy, heading a congressional commission, started an investigation in government offices to detect spies and "Communists". In reality, the main object of McCarthyism was to whip up anti-communist hysteria among large sections of the American population. Many reactionary organisations, like the American Legion, Ku Klux Klan, Knights of Columbus, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the US, to mention just a few, were behind McCarthy's doings.

In August 1954, President Eisenhower signed the Communist Control Act, outlawing the Communist Party.

Progressive forces were getting actively involved in the struggle against those reactionary moves. Considerable attention was given at the US Communist Party Conference in 1953 to organising resistance to McCarthyism by setting up a front of united action of the working class and all labour. Progressive, trade union, democratic and moderate liberal organisations and even representatives of some right-wing bourgeois organisations spoke up against McCarthyism.

The working-class and democratic movement went into higher gear in the latter half of the 1950s. In the course of the strike struggles, workers were more and more often acting in common and calling on their trade union

leaders to forge unity of action. The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations met for a convention in December 1955, which decided to merge the two trade union centres and create a single organisation, the AFL/CIO, with an aggregate membership of around 15 million.

The intensified activities of progressive forces led to some positive change in national life. The peace movement began to gain ground since the end of 1957. The mass civil rights movement of the Blacks intensified since the mid-1950s. In 1957, a Black public figure, Martin Luther King, who was active in Black activities in Alabama, created an organisation which was known as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Black equality was officially confirmed in the latter half of the 1950s in view of an intensified Black movement.

Eisenhower's foreign policy exhibited conflicting elements which reflected the pitched battle between the supporters of the continued Cold War and its opponents. Great changes in international relations by the mid-1950s prompted President Eisenhower to take part in a summit conference in Geneva in 1955. However, in that period, too, the US kept on meddling in the affairs of other nations, which more than once drastically strained the international situation.

*The Policy of the Democratic Administration of Kennedy and Johnson (1961-1968).* At the turn of the 1960s, the US was engaged in a fast-going process of the technological revolution which brought about the growth of new sectors in the economy, reformed old ones and led to the automation of production in large proportions. Power engineering, above all nuclear power, computer technology, the chemical industry, up-to-date lines in engineering, production of automation and communication facilities and instrument-making rose to prominence. Particularly rapid headway was made in the exploitation of electronic computers. The continued monopolisation of production and capital and the use of technological advances enabled the US to step up its economic growth rate.

John Kennedy of the Democratic Party was elected President on November 8, 1960. Once in office, he set about promoting the use of the mechanism of federal

regulation and resorting to methods of social manoeuvring. The foreign policy of the Kennedy Government was conflicting. There was an intensified nuclear and conventional arms build-up in the United States. In April 1961, the US incited an invasion of Cuba and in October 1962, established a military blockade. In Latin America, Kennedy put forward the concept of an "alliance for progress" to assist the Latin American bourgeoisie in preventing popular revolutions in that region.

It was decided to send young Americans to the Third World countries to set a "Peace Corps" designed to spread US influence in those countries, using economic, political, cultural and ideological means.

The nation's domestic and foreign policies were a subject of intense debate. In the face of opposition from the partisans of increased international tension, Kennedy agreed to so realistic a move as the signing in 1963 of the Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water.

The situation worsened again in the autumn of 1963. Ultra-rightist elements demanded the government's rightward shift in domestic and foreign policies. The confrontation grew closer as presidential elections approached. Reactionary forces had a rather negligible chance of taking revenge in those elections. President Kennedy's popularity was uncommonly great. But on November 22, 1963, he was killed while on his campaign tour in Dallas, Texas. That act of terrorism stunned the whole world.

Vice-President Lyndon Johnson took over. On January 20, 1965, he proclaimed a programme for creating a so-called great society incorporating a civil rights bill, "war on want", a social security reform, town development, etc.

In 1965, Johnson submitted 80 proposals for social and economic reforms. Following his recommendations, Congress approved aid to depressed areas. Means were appropriated for public works, housing and urban construction, aid to the elderly, funding of public primary and secondary schools, institutions of higher learning, and curative centres. A Voting Rights Act, permitting the Black population to participate in elections, came into effect. The basic hourly wage was increased. The farmers received higher subsidies and credits. But neither the programme of a

"great society", nor that of "war on want" were put into effect completely, in the long run. There was a rise in inflation and prices, as well as a cut in social spending and increased taxes.

In foreign policy, Johnson embraced some of the policy demands of the extreme right elements. American strategists worked out plans to strike at the revolutionary forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America. At the end of 1964, the US, together with Britain and Belgium, had paratroopers land in Stanleyville in the Congo to put down the liberation struggle of the Congolese people. In Latin America, Johnson also decided to revert to the "big stick" policy and backed up anti-Cuban acts of provocation. A dramatic conflict with Panama erupted early in 1964. Late in April 1965, the US government dispatched its marines and paratroopers to the Dominican Republic to help the reactionary military junta in quelling the uprising of patriotic forces.

Early in August 1964, the US declared that the armed forces of the DRV had attacked American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonking. On February 7, 1965, American aircraft began bombing the territory of the DRV, following an order of the US government. That was the starting point of a war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. The Johnson Government set about escalating the war.

The Vietnam War was a heavy burden, above all, on the American people. An anti-war movement, involving youth, students and intellectuals, was gaining ground throughout the nation. There were Days of Vietnam in about a hundred American cities, including New York, Washington, Chicago, Detroit and Boston, in October 1965. Close on 100,000 people took part in demonstrations, marches and meetings. In the course of anti-war activities in a number of universities, students organised public disputes to make speeches sharply critical of the government's policy. Many students destroyed call-up subpoenas and refused to participate in the Vietnam War. An opposition to the foreign policy conducted by the government began to take shape in Congress.

The condition of the Blacks remained one of the cardinal issues of the democratic movement. The Black population reached 25 million in the 1960s. A host of marches against segregation in the service system and

employment passed off in the South in the early 1960s. The rising against racial discrimination in Mississippi, which broke out in the spring of 1963, came to be known as the Battle in the State of Mississippi. Thousands of representatives of the Black people were up against segregation in educational establishments, stores, transport, parks, restaurants and other public places. There was a full-scale "race" war, engulfing over a hundred cities in the summer of 1967. Preparations for a march of the poor on Washington got under way throughout the nation in 1968. The march was organised by Martin Luther King who had won great popularity among the population by his courageous stand for the rights of the Blacks. The racists, who had long plotted to remove him, sent a mercenary to kill King in Memphis on April 4, 1968. But the march organised by him went ahead.

*The US at the Time of International Detente (1970s).* Richard Nixon of the Republican Party won the presidential elections on November 5, 1968. And on August 15, 1971, he announced a "new economic policy" to stabilise prices and wages. It did freeze wages without, however, stopping the price rise. Early in April 1972, the government had to devalue the dollar and in April 1974 it cancelled the programme of price and wage control as it had failed to produce the results expected.

In foreign affairs, the Nixon Government went on record for the "era of confrontation" to give way to an "era of negotiation".

A major foreign policy act of Nixon's was his visit to Moscow in May 1972, during which Soviet-American documents were signed—the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (ABM), an Interim Agreement of Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-I), and also the Basic Principles of Relations between the US and the USSR. In 1973, the Nixon Government had to stop the war in Vietnam. The summit negotiations between the USSR and the US in June 1973, and in the summer of 1974 led to the signing of further important documents (like the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, and the Treaty on Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests).

An economic recession began in the United States late in 1973, and went on until 1975 inclusive. It brought with it rising inflation and prices, falling wages and mounting unemployment. In 1975, the nation had 13 million totally or partly unemployed. Working people started extensive strike action. Strikes swept across the steel, automobile, coal, chemical and electrical engineering industries. They involved also longshoremen, port workers, truck drivers and teachers. The strikes were distinguished by the unity and solidarity of workers of different industries and by the criticism of the collaborationist policy of trade union leaders.

In the meantime, the nation found itself once again in a state of profound political crisis. The political struggle inside the ruling establishment sharpened. The democratic majority of Congress was increasingly opposing the policy of the Republican Administration. This political crisis was reflected, notably, in what came to be known as the Watergate\*. The Democrats charged the Republicans with having violated the civil rights of the Democratic Party. Nixon's political opponents, taking advantage of the Watergate, decided to remove him from office. There was a campaign against the President throughout the land which forced Nixon to step down on August 9, 1974.

Gerald Ford of the Republican Party became the new American President. He came forward with a programme to overcome inflation and recession. Yet the political crisis deepened during the Ford presidency.

The Ford Government's foreign policy was full of conflicting trends. The United States was backing up the reactionary Saigon regime and the aggressive policy of Israel and interfering in the affairs of the countries of Latin America and Arab nations. Reactionary elements sought to impede the process of normalising Soviet-American relations. Yet at the same time, the intention to conclude a further strategic offensive arms limitation agreement (SALT-II) was reaffirmed during Ford's visit to Vladivostok in November 1974. In August 1975, the

\* On June 17, 1972, with an election campaign under way, five men penetrated into the Watergate Hotel, the headquarters of the Democratic Party, to instal bugging devices. They were discovered and arrested.



US took part in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and joined the other participating nations in signing the Final Act.

The economic crisis, the Watergate and some other circumstances pushed many voters away from the Republican Party. In consequence, it was a representative of the Democrats Jimmy Carter who won the elections in November 1976. The Carter Administration directed its efforts in domestic policy towards improving the nation's economic situation and bringing down unemployment. The programme it launched to stimulate the economy implied cutting corporate and income taxes. That was coupled with an allotment of resources to create more jobs. In the face of a worsening energy problem, Carter submitted a programme to Congress in April 1977, for saving energy resources, creating reserves of oil and petroleum products, expanding coal production, promoting nuclear power and the utilisation of solar energy. Great efforts were made to check inflation.

Carter's foreign policy line was inconsistent. Having declared himself in favour of a continued policy of international detente, Carter took a number of steps which meant straining the world situation, especially by the end of his presidency. Soviet-American relations began to worsen step by step. However, the Soviet-American SALT-II Treaty was signed in Vienna in June 1979.

In the meantime, there were full-scale preparations under way in the US for the production of neutron weapons and cruise missiles along with intensified efforts for building Trident submarines, MX intercontinental missiles and other types of weapon. In 1979, the US obtained the consent of its allies to the deployment of American intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. A Rapid Deployment Force of invasion was being established. The Carter Doctrine, providing for the prosecution of a "limited nuclear war" and building up American military presence in various parts of the world declared to be the zones of the US "vital interest", was launched in 1980.

After a limited contingent of Soviet forces was moved into Afghanistan, the US-USSR relations turned for the worse: the SALT-II Treaty was not ratified; in 1980,

a boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow was announced. Many Soviet-American arms control negotiations were broken off.

The US kept on conducting a differentiated policy regarding other socialist nations. It went as far as to normalise relations with the SRV and the LPDR, and was giving as great attention as ever to relations with the PRC. Diplomatic relations between the US and the PRC were established on January 1, 1979.

Following the events in Iran in 1978-1979, the US substantially increased its naval presence in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. The staff of the American Embassy in Tehran were taken hostage in November 1979. In April 1980, the US Administration attempted an operation to free the hostages. Its failure brought President Carter into yet greater disrepute.

*The Presidency of Ronald Reagan (1980-1988).* Ronald Reagan, representative of the Right wing of the Republican Party, was elected President of the United States on November 4, 1980. The Republican Administration concentrated its efforts in domestic policy on economic problems. The first notable move in this area was the tax reform approved by Congress in August 1981. Private corporations, above all in the power industry, were granted sizable tax benefits. The personal income tax was also reduced (by 5 to 20 per cent). Furthermore, the Reagan Government substantially cut back on budget appropriations for social programmes.

The energy problem was in the focus of the new Administration's attention. Government control over oil prices on the home market was lifted in February 1981, which led to the retail prices of oil and petroleum products rising by nearly 20 per cent. A number of anti-inflationary monetary and credit measures were carried through.

Yet, there was no let-up in the intensity of the American working people's struggle for their rights in the 1980s. A strike of air traffic controllers began on August 3, 1981. The response of the authorities was to sack about 12,000 strikers, along with arresting and putting on trial many trade union activists. In September 1982, the government cut short a strike of 26,000 engine drivers.

A demonstration of thousands of protesters to rising

prices and wholesale layoffs took place within the framework of the Solidarity Day in Washington in May 1980. Thousands of people took part in a demonstration against the Reagan Administration's anti-labour policy in Washington on September 19, 1981. Reaganomics came under scathing criticism at an AFL/CIO convention in 1981.

Mass action started mounting against the militarist policy of the Republicans. The call for a nuclear arms freeze gained wide currency. Thousands of peace activists were involved in demonstrations all over the United States in the summer of 1982 during the Second Special United Nations Session on Disarmament. A National Week for Peace and Job was held in the US in April 1983. A mass march on Washington, involving around 400,000 people, took place in August 1983; they came from 400 cities and represented over 700 mass organisations. The slogan of the demonstration was "Job, Peace, Freedom!"

A further round of the arms race began in the early 1980s. It came together with a reaffirmation of the acceptability of the doctrine of "limited nuclear war" and the expediency of "demonstration use" of nuclear weapons. In 1982, Reagan called on the Western nations to launch a "crusade" against socialism.

The US military budget was swelling. Military programmes provided for the development of both nuclear and conventional arms. The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), a programme to bring weapons out into space, which was first enunciated in 1983, was an extremely dangerous one for the cause of peace. That project came to be known as a Star Wars programme. In 1983, the US started deploying intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Soviet-American relations worsened in the early 1980s. The American Administration refused to ratify the SALT-II Treaty. Trading, scientific, technological and other links with the USSR were being wound up, and the accords and agreements signed earlier on were being broken. And still, in the meantime, the US and the USSR conducted negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear arms in Europe (1981) and on strategic arms limitation and reduction (1982). But the American pro-

posals at these talks, which were going on in Geneva, were directed towards obtaining unilateral advantages and upsetting the military-strategic parity. The US brought all those negotiations to a standstill by siting its intermediate-range nuclear missiles towards the end of 1983.

In 1983, the US got involved in an armed invasion of Lebanon. Dangerous acts of armed provocation were organised against Libya.

It was in the Caribbean that the US turned out to be particularly active. It waged an undeclared war against Nicaragua and offered all possible support to the reactionary elements in El Salvador. In October 1983, the US committed an act of outright armed intervention against the independent state of Grenada.

Positive changes began to take place in relations between the US and the USSR since the mid-1980s due to the efforts made by both sides. Agreement on negotiations concerning nuclear and space weapons was achieved early in 1985. The negotiations began in Geneva in March 1985.

There was a meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Geneva, in November 1985. In a joint statement they declared that no war of any kind must ever be fought between the USSR and the US, that a nuclear war was unwinnable and that the ambition to achieve military superiority had to be dropped. The parties outlined the ways of promoting security and also improving Soviet-American relations.

At the intermediate Soviet-American meeting in Reykjavik (in October 1986) the Soviet side proposed a package of measures for disarmament, prohibition of all test of nuclear weapons and verification of disarmament. There was also the proposal to limit space weapons research to laboratory conditions. But at that stage, it proved impossible to reach agreement. However, a Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles was signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Washington, on December 7-9, 1987, due to the determination of the leadership of both countries. The draft of a treaty on strategic offensive arms limitation and reduction was concerted during Reagan's official visit to Moscow in May-June 1988.

In November 1988, George Bush, Republican, was

elected the forty-first President of the United States. He declared himself committed to continuity both in home and foreign policy.

In the late 1989, a working meeting took place between George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev in Malta, in the course of which the key problems of international security and prospects of development of Soviet-American relations were discussed. Particular attention was paid to the need of elaborating, as soon as possible, an agreement on a 50 per cent reduction of the strategic nuclear weapons.

## § 2. Canada

*Canada After the End of the War.* After the end of the war, Canada, a British dominion,—entered a new stage of her development. The Second World War, which had been fought well away from Canada, did no damage either to her territory or her economy. Moreover, the wartime demand had generated appreciable growth of industrial production. The country's national income doubled during the war years. Canada became an advanced nation, ranking third in the industrial production of the capitalist world.

In the first post-war decade, Canadian monopolies succeeded in exploiting the favourable set of circumstances for building up their grip on all national life. They were taking out large amounts of capital, mostly to Latin America and the US. Canadian investment abroad increased from 1,865 million dollars in 1939 to 7,000 million dollars in 1955. These and other developments enabled Canadian monopolies to expand production considerably and build up further superprofits.

From 1935 to 1948, the Federal Government of Canada was headed by W. L. Mackenzie King, the leader of the Liberal Party. This party represented the interests of the big bourgeoisie connected with US monopolies, and pressed for extensive involvement of foreign, mostly American, capital. The government of the Liberal Party pursued a policy of social manoeuvring. It promised to introduce old-age pensions, unemployment insurance and national health service. In reality, it did no more than introduce the pensions. The government's

major priority proved to be economic integration with the US. In December 1947, the Canadian government put forward the so-called Abbott Plan (John Abbott was Minister of Finance) designed for a curtailment of Canadian industrial production and an expansion of the production of raw materials and semi-finished products to supply to American industry. Thirty-nine per cent of all manufacturing industry of Canada, 37 per cent of mining, smelting and petroleum industries, and 3 per cent of all railways came under American monopoly control. From 1945 to 1956, the US built up its long-term investment in Canada from 4,990 million to 12,900 million dollars. US monopolies bought up vast forest ranges in Canada as well as valuable sites for the construction of dams and electric power stations, oil-bearing lands, and deposits of uranium, lead, copper, zinc, nickel, asbestos, iron ore, titanium and other minerals. Canada's foreign trade was also dependent on the American dollar.

Along with that, British capital retained certain positions in Canada, owning 16 per cent of all long-term foreign investment. However, some Canadian Acts adopted after the war weakened Britain's positions in Canada. Canadian citizenship was introduced in 1947. From 1949 on, Britain has had no more right to influence any amendment of the Constitution of Canada. In the same year, Newfoundland, which had been a British colony, was incorporated in Canada.

The relationship between the English-speaking Canadians (59.1 per cent in 1951) and the French-speaking population (29 per cent) presented a serious political problem. The former dominated the nation's economic and political life. They were in the majority in the central government institutions. Most of the French Canadians had neither political nor cultural autonomy.

After the end of the Second World War, Canada came to play a more conspicuous role in world politics. She was active in the UN and its agencies. Yet at the same time Canada's political dependence on the US increased considerably. The Government of Canada allowed the United States to use military and air bases on its territory. An agreement on military co-operation between the US and Canada was signed in February 1947. In 1949, Canada joined the North Atlantic bloc.

The self-awareness of the Canadian people increased appreciably in the post-war period. Working people were calling for social-economic and democratic reforms and for an effort to consolidate national sovereignty. Canada's working class was acting as the leading force in the struggle against the sway of Canadian and American monopolies. Trade unions remained the major organisation in the labour movement. Just as in the US, they were divided into two centres: the Canadian Trade Union Congress and the Canadian Labour Congress (aggregating a membership of 783,000 in 1951). The influence of the Social Democratic Party, which was called the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) gained ground.

There was no end to the strike struggles in Canada after the war, mostly in support of economic demands (for higher wages, increased pensions, extra unemployment relief, etc.). The strikes took on the form of a political protest against American domination of Canada. A strike of the progressive Seafarers International Union of Canada, which had a membership of around 10,000 in 1949, was indicative in this respect.

In the van of the labour movement there was the Labour-Progressive Party of Canada (LPP), created in 1943. The party was consistently and selflessly fighting for the interests of the Canadian working class and the entire people, for peace and democracy. The Communists were the heart and soul of the Peace Movement. Peace congresses have been called annually in Canada since 1949, with mass campaigns held to collect signatures to the appeals for peace.

*Canada in the Years of the Cold War.* In the 1950s and the 1960s, Canada made sure of her place in the group of advanced capitalist states. She ranked fifth-seventh in the capitalist world in industrial production. At the same time, she came second (after the US) in productivity, national income, and industrial output per head. Rapid headway was made in the oil refining, mining and export sectors of her manufacturing industries. Such industries as petrochemistry, electronics and aircraft production began growing up later on. Great attention was given to expanding the production of fuel, particularly natural gas and oil as well as non-metallic minerals. Canada ranked among

the capitalist world's top producers of nickel, asbestos, uranium and iron ores, zinc, gold, platinum, silver, copper, lead as well as aluminium, newsprint and chemi-ground wood.

The Government of the Liberal Party kept on conducting a policy of forging a closer relationship with the US. The inflow of American capital into Canada's economy was swelling, and the arms race intensified.

That course came more and more under fire both from the left and from the right. The Conservative Party, which was headed by John Diefenbaker in 1956, presented itself as a defender of "ordinary Canadians", democratic freedoms, and national sovereignty. In the parliamentary elections on June 10, 1957, the Conservative Party won out. Diefenbaker, heading the government, put through a number of reforms within a short space of time: lowering taxes, improving the social security system and allotting the means for aid to the farmers and the depressed Atlantic coast provinces. The programme of public works was enlarged (by over 1,000 million dollars) to reduce unemployment. All that appreciably strengthened the Conservative Party's electoral position.

From the early 1960s, the influence of the Conservatives (the Progressive Conservative Party) was on the wane. The economic recession and a drastic reduction of the hard currency reserves created formidable problems.

An early parliamentary election on April 8, 1963, brought victory to the Liberal Party headed by Lester Pearson. The Pearson Government carried through a number of measures to improve the people's social condition and introduced the National Flag of Canada on December 15, 1964.

The labour movement was gaining ground. The Canadian Trade Union Congress and the Canadian Labour Congress merged to form a Canadian Labour Congress in April 1956. It had a membership of over one million, or three-quarters of all the organised workers of Canada. The CLC had close links with the CCF. The latter's decline prompted the CLC leadership to get a convention of the new trade union federation in 1958 to decide on setting up a new political party. So the New Democratic Party (NDP) was formed on the CCF basis in August



1962, whose leadership found itself in the hands of the right-wing Social Democrats and CLC leaders.

The Labour-Progressive Party of Canada had to operate in difficult conditions. Nevertheless, Canadian Communists were vigorously defending the vital interest of the working class, the country's national sovereignty and democratic rights of the population, and opposed the militarisation and the arms race. The 7th Congress of the LPP (October 1959) restored the Party's former name—the Communist Party of Canada, and approved the new Charter and Programme of the Party "The Road to Socialism in Canada".

In the 1950s and the 1960s, Canada kept on building up her political, economic and military co-operation with the US. Canada was involved in the Korean War of 1950-1953. In 1958, the Canadian government concluded an agreement with the US about setting up a North American Air Defence Command (NORAD) and establishing a committee at ministerial level to deal with current issues of joint defence. At the same time, Canada's foreign policy reflected the contradictions of her relations with the US and some other capitalist countries. Canada refused to join the OAS. Nor did the Canadians participate in the American war in Indochina. A certain positive turn began to emerge in Canadian-Soviet relations since the latter half of the 1950s.

*Canada in the 1970s. Trudeau Administration.* In April 1968, the Liberal Party changed leaders. It was Pierre Elliott Trudeau who was elected, following Lester Pearson's resignation, and became Head of Government.

Trudeau put through a number of measures consistent with the national interests of Canada and the demands of democratic sections of opinion. In 1969, Parliament passed legislation to place the French on an equal footing with the English throughout the nation. Measures were worked out to stimulate the development of the economically backward regions, particularly Quebec.

Trudeau sought reduced dependence on the US, although acting with caution to this end. A Canada Development Corporation was formed in 1971 to attract local capital into the major sectors of the economy and assure them dominant positions.

In 1973, the Trudeau Government proposed a pro-

gramme of measures of a social and economic kind. An Act on long-term stimulation of industrial production provided for a reduction of taxes on the profits of big corporations in the manufacturing industry. Hundreds of millions of dollars were set aside for creating new jobs. The first major move of the government in the context of the economic recession of 1974-1975 was to pass legislation to establish state control over incomes and prices.

An important priority in the Trudeau Government's economic policy was to make the country self-sufficient in oil. A public Petro-Canada company, founded in 1975, bought up the Canadian assets from the American Atlantic Richfield monopoly. Later on, Trudeau secured an agreement with Saudi Arabia on oil deliveries to Canada.

The French Canadian ethnic problem came to a head in the 1970s. To mitigate the intensity of the contradictions, the Trudeau Government launched a policy of preferential subsidising of industrial construction in Quebec. A political crisis broke out in Quebec in October 1970. Members of the terrorist Quebec Liberation Front kidnapped a British diplomat in Montreal. At the same time, a minister of the Quebec provincial government was killed. At that point, Trudeau enacted war-time legislation, declared the Quebec terrorist organisation outlawed and dispatched troops into the province. Trudeau's firm position enhanced his prestige in the Party and in the nation, and strengthened Canada's unity. An Act was passed in the Quebec Province in 1974, making French the official language in the province.

There were mass strikes in Canada in the 1970s, involving the ground staff of Air Canada, Vancouver fishermen, workers of paper mills, Montreal underground railwaymen, electricians of Canada's eastern regions, workers of the Chrysler car factories, railwaymen, miners, steel workers, dockers of the Pacific coast. The Canadian trade union movement was pressing harder for autonomy from the AFL/CIO. The influence of the New Democratic Party was growing. In 1969, the Party formed a provincial government in Manitoba, in 1971, one in Saskatchewan, and in 1972, one in British Columbia.

The years just named saw the Communist Party of

Canada step up its action for peace, democracy and progress. The Communists were consistently upholding the vital interests of the working people, demanding Canada's withdrawal from NATO, pressing for the equal status of the French Canadians and working for a relaxation of international tension.

Canada was pressing for a more independent foreign policy of her own. Trudeau advanced the concept of creating "counterweights" in foreign policy. For this reason, Canada gave more attention to promoting her relations with Western Europe and with socialist and developing countries. She pared down her involvement in the military structure of NATO and stopped her Air Force playing a nuclear strike role in Europe. The Armed Forces of Canada were largely converted to ensure national sovereignty.

Canada was speaking out for defusing international tension. She supported certain proposals for arms limitation and reduction, and participated in the deliberations of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The Trudeau Government moved to promote closer relationships with the USSR and other socialist countries.

*Canada in the 1980s.* Trudeau's determination to bring about greater federal intervention in the economy came up against stiff opposition from monopoly capital. The Liberal government was coming under growing criticism from the Conservatives. All that undercut the positions of the Liberals who lost the parliamentary election of 1979. The Conservatives, with the backing of the Social Credit Party, formed a government headed by their leader, Joe Clark. There was an economic crisis in Canada in 1980-1982, which affected every area of economic life. To find a way out of the crisis, the government pursued an austerity policy, limiting appropriations for social security, education and health. An "energy programme" was adopted. Domestic prices of energy resources were put up, etc. From 1983 on, the nation's economic situation began to improve.

In the meantime, there was a growing political instability against the backdrop of economic troubles. The Clark Conservative Government, which was following an anti-people domestic course and a pro-American

foreign policy, could not stay in power for too long. There was an early parliamentary election on February 18, 1980, which resulted in the Liberals gaining an absolute majority of the seats in Parliament. In March 1980, Trudeau once more formed a Liberal Government, which gave paramount attention to working out an economic policy and consolidating the unity of the nation by a constitutional reform. Further steps were taken to tighten state control over the operation of foreign companies and foreign investment. A dramatic battle erupted over the energy programme advanced by the government. It provided for 50 per cent of the country's oil industry to pass into Canadian hands by the end of the 1980s. Within a short space of time, the government bought out 11 large oil-and-gas firms worth about 6,500 million dollars, belonging to foreign capital.

A draft constitutional reform was approved in December 1981. The new Constitution of Canada—the Constitution Act 1982—officially came into force on April 17, 1982, replacing the British North America Act of 1867. That event, if somewhat formal, brought off the official establishment of Canada as a sovereign state. However, it was the British Queen, represented by the Governor General of Canada, who still remained Head of State. Canada was still part of the British Commonwealth.

The Liberals sustained a landslide defeat in the elections of September 1984. The new, Conservative Government was headed by Brian Mulroney, the leader of the Progressive Conservative Party. His government declared an "open-door" policy for American capital and decided to revise the legislation regarding the regulation of foreign investment and the national energy programme, i.e., practically renounced the Trudeau Government's policy of "Canadisation" of the national economy.

The 1980s saw a stepping up of the labour, national, and anti-war movement. The proposal to declare Canada a nuclear-free zone became very popular. Tens of cities declared themselves nuclear-free zones. A movement against the militarisation of space gained ground in Canada as a reaction to the US Star Wars programme.

The foreign policy of Canada in the 1980s was not particularly consistent. Pretexting the rising tension in

the world, the US induced Canada in 1981 to accept yet another five-year prolongation of the NORAD agreement which was renamed the North American Aerospace Defence Command. In spite of the protests from the peace-loving sections of opinion, the Canadian government signed a five-year agreement with the US in February 1983, to allow American weapons systems to be tested on Canadian territory. In June, it agreed to the testing of American cruise missiles.

However, by the mid-1980s, the ruling quarters of Canada began to pursue a more realistic foreign policy. Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Canada in May 1983—and June 1990 did much to help advance Soviet-Canadian relations.

## Chapter 5

# THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

### § 1. Great Britain

*Britain after the War. Labour in Office (1945-1951).*  
As the Second World War ended, the political and economic positions of British capital turned out to have been severely impaired and its links with the dominions weakened. Social contradictions sharpened and the workers' anti-monopoly struggle intensified.

The defeat of the fascist aggressors had a tremendous impact on the mentality of large sections of British society. During the war, the British working class had raised its standards of organisation and political understanding and came to play a greater role in the nation's political life. Trade union membership increased. So did the influence of the Labour Party. The positions of the Communist Party of Great Britain were somewhat strengthened.

Labour won a majority in the elections of July 5, 1945. A Labour Government under Clement Attlee was in office from 1945 to 1951, beset all along by hard political, economic and financial problems.

The Labour government contributed towards a further reinforcement of state-monopoly capitalism. It nationalised the Bank of England, the coal and gas industries, some of the steel plants, electric-power stations, motor road transport, civil aviation, telegraph and radio communications. These sectors employed 20 per cent of the nation's work-force. The Labour Party declared the nationalisation a socialist measure. However, the owners were paid a huge compensation of nearly 2,500 million pounds.

The Labour government carried through a number of social reforms as well. They rescinded the reactionary

the world, the US induced Canada in 1981 to accept yet another five-year prolongation of the NORAD agreement which was renamed the North American Aerospace Defence Command. In spite of the protests from the peace-loving sections of opinion, the Canadian government signed a five-year agreement with the US in February 1983, to allow American weapons systems to be tested on Canadian territory. In June, it agreed to the testing of American cruise missiles.

However, by the mid-1980s, the ruling quarters of Canada began to pursue a more realistic foreign policy. Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Canada in May 1983—and June 1990 did much to help advance Soviet-Canadian relations.

## Chapter 5

# THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

## § 1. Great Britain

*Britain after the War. Labour in Office (1945-1951).*

As the Second World War ended, the political and economic positions of British capital turned out to have been severely impaired and its links with the dominions weakened. Social contradictions sharpened and the workers' anti-monopoly struggle intensified.

The defeat of the fascist aggressors had a tremendous impact on the mentality of large sections of British society. During the war, the British working class had raised its standards of organisation and political understanding and came to play a greater role in the nation's political life. Trade union membership increased. So did the influence of the Labour Party. The positions of the Communist Party of Great Britain were somewhat strengthened.

Labour won a majority in the elections of July 5, 1945. A Labour Government under Clement Attlee was in office from 1945 to 1951, beset all along by hard political, economic and financial problems.

The Labour government contributed towards a further reinforcement of state-monopoly capitalism. It nationalised the Bank of England, the coal and gas industries, some of the steel plants, electric-power stations, motor road transport, civil aviation, telegraph and radio communications. These sectors employed 20 per cent of the nation's work-force. The Labour Party declared the nationalisation a socialist measure. However, the owners were paid a huge compensation of nearly 2,500 million pounds.

The Labour government carried through a number of social reforms as well. They rescinded the reactionary



ever, at a later stage, the Wilson Government set course for restraining the growth of wages and limiting industrial action.

In foreign affairs, the Labour government also followed a line to suit the interests of British capitalists. With the arms race intensified, Britain became more active in NATO and other blocs, supported the American war in Indochina and the Israeli aggression against Arab countries, and maintained relations with the racist regimes of South Africa and South Rhodesia. From 1967 on, the Labour government was pressing for Britain to join the Common Market. Positive change was taking place in British-Soviet relations.

Under the Labour government, relations began to worsen in Northern Ireland (Ulster) between the Catholics (one-third of the population) and the Protestants (two-thirds). At the root of the conflict, attributed to religious strife, there was a deep-seated social rift between the privileged part of the population (the Protestants) and the oppressed part (the Catholics). Clashes began in Londonderry in October 1968. They spilled over to the whole of Ulster. The British authorities were building up their troop contingents there. The Wilson Government showed no desire to have the conflict resolved in a fair democratic way.

The strike movement gathered momentum in Britain from the early 1950s. There were many mass stoppages. For example, about two million workers of the shipbuilding and engineering industries staged a 24-hour strike on December 2, 1953, in support of their demand for higher pay. One of the biggest strikes of railwaymen took place in May and June 1955. There was a strike of workers of three motor companies in 1956. 200,000 shipbuilders and about a million engineering workers struck in 1957. In their struggle, British working people did not confine themselves to presenting economic demands. They were increasingly vocal in speaking out for peace, in support of the national liberation movement, against the rearming of West Germany and against the British intervention in Egypt in the autumn of 1956. Strike struggles flared up again in the 1960s, involving a wider cross-section of the population, with more and more of white-collar workers.

The peace movement gained considerable ground in the 1950s and 1960s, with the role of trade unions rising. TUC conferences passed resolutions for strengthening the peace. Aldermaston peace marches began to be held on the initiative of British Communists. The first march took place in 1958. In the same year, prominent personalities in the scientific community and the world of culture launched a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, comprising intellectuals, Labour left-wingers and leftist trade unionists.

The British Committee for Peace in Vietnam (founded in 1965) and the Youth for Peace in Vietnam (1966) came out against the war in Vietnam. These and other organisations held meetings, rallies, demonstrations and conferences of solidarity with the Vietnamese people. Many members of the Labour Party and trade unions joined the movement. The campaign held in 1968 to collect signatures to a declaration of the people of Great Britain for peace in Vietnam involved organisations with an aggregate membership of five million. Large-scale action against the war in Vietnam took place in Britain in the summer of 1969.

*Economic and Political Instability Increased in the 1970s.* In the early half of the 1970s, the role of British capital in the world economy continued to decline. Britain's share of the capitalist world's industrial output shrank from 10.2 per cent in 1948 to 5.4 per cent in 1975. She ranked fifth in the capitalist world in basic economic performance in the mid-1970s.

There were serious economic recessions in Britain in 1970-1971 and 1974-1975. The crisis of the mid-1970s hit Britain harder than some other capitalist countries. She had to turn to the International Monetary Fund for financial aid. In the latter half of the 1970s, Britain's economy was slowly recovering from the aftermath of the crisis.

Instability made itself felt in political life as well. The elections of June 18, 1970, were won by the Conservative Party. Its leader, Edward Heath, became the new Head of Government. Britain joined the European Economic Community on January 1, 1973. The Conservative government was seeking "production growth through inflation", determined to reinforce the private capitalist

ever, at a later stage, the Wilson Government set course for restraining the growth of wages and limiting industrial action.

In foreign affairs, the Labour government also followed a line to suit the interests of British capitalists. With the arms race intensified, Britain became more active in NATO and other blocs, supported the American war in Indochina and the Israeli aggression against Arab countries, and maintained relations with the racist regimes of South Africa and South Rhodesia. From 1967 on, the Labour government was pressing for Britain to join the Common Market. Positive change was taking place in British-Soviet relations.

Under the Labour government, relations began to worsen in Northern Ireland (Ulster) between the Catholics (one-third of the population) and the Protestants (two-thirds). At the root of the conflict, attributed to religious strife, there was a deep-seated social rift between the privileged part of the population (the Protestants) and the oppressed part (the Catholics). Clashes began in Londonderry in October 1968. They spilled over to the whole of Ulster. The British authorities were building up their troop contingents there. The Wilson Government showed no desire to have the conflict resolved in a fair democratic way.

The strike movement gathered momentum in Britain from the early 1950s. There were many mass stoppages. For example, about two million workers of the shipbuilding and engineering industries staged a 24-hour strike on December 2, 1953, in support of their demand for higher pay. One of the biggest strikes of railwaymen took place in May and June 1955. There was a strike of workers of three motor companies in 1956. 200,000 shipbuilders and about a million engineering workers struck in 1957. In their struggle, British working people did not confine themselves to presenting economic demands. They were increasingly vocal in speaking out for peace, in support of the national liberation movement, against the rearming of West Germany and against the British intervention in Egypt in the autumn of 1956. Strike struggles flared up again in the 1960s, involving a wider cross-section of the population, with more and more of white-collar workers.

The peace movement gained considerable ground in the 1950s and 1960s, with the role of trade unions rising. TUC conferences passed resolutions for strengthening the peace. Aldermaston peace marches began to be held on the initiative of British Communists. The first march took place in 1958. In the same year, prominent personalities in the scientific community and the world of culture launched a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, comprising intellectuals, Labour left-wingers and leftist trade unionists.

The British Committee for Peace in Vietnam (founded in 1965) and the Youth for Peace in Vietnam (1966) came out against the war in Vietnam. These and other organisations held meetings, rallies, demonstrations and conferences of solidarity with the Vietnamese people. Many members of the Labour Party and trade unions joined the movement. The campaign held in 1968 to collect signatures to a declaration of the people of Great Britain for peace in Vietnam involved organisations with an aggregate membership of five million. Large-scale action against the war in Vietnam took place in Britain in the summer of 1969.

*Economic and Political Instability Increased in the 1970s.* In the early half of the 1970s, the role of British capital in the world economy continued to decline. Britain's share of the capitalist world's industrial output shrank from 10.2 per cent in 1948 to 5.4 per cent in 1975. She ranked fifth in the capitalist world in basic economic performance in the mid-1970s.

There were serious economic recessions in Britain in 1970-1971 and 1974-1975. The crisis of the mid-1970s hit Britain harder than some other capitalist countries. She had to turn to the International Monetary Fund for financial aid. In the latter half of the 1970s, Britain's economy was slowly recovering from the aftermath of the crisis.

Instability made itself felt in political life as well. The elections of June 18, 1970, were won by the Conservative Party. Its leader, Edward Heath, became the new Head of Government. Britain joined the European Economic Community on January 1, 1973. The Conservative government was seeking "production growth through inflation", determined to reinforce the private capitalist

sector. Some of the state-owned enterprises were sold to capitalists. But the economic policy of the Conservatives ended in failure. Inflation was growing and the energy crisis worsened.

The Conservatives conducted a tough policy in respect of the working class. They had an anti-union Industrial Relations Act passed in on August 5, 1971, tightening official control over the unions. Apart from anti-labour legislation, the Conservatives pursued a policy of wage freeze.

The working class was active in opposing the Conservative policy. The class battles in Britain in the early half of the 1970s assumed large proportions. Engineering workers, postal and telegraph office staff, shipbuilders, miners, dockers and railwaymen went on strike. Teachers, students, post-office and clerical personnel and nurses joined the struggle against the wage freeze.

In the face of a mounting crisis, the Heath Government introduced a state of emergency in the autumn of 1973. At the same time, the Conservatives launched a massive offensive against civil rights activists in Ulster which was, as a matter of fact, placed under direct rule from London.

The Heath Government's anti-labour policy had the effect of eroding the Conservative Party's positions. On November 12, 1973, miners called a partial strike which escalated into a general one on January 23, 1974. The strike assumed a political and anti-Conservative character at once and led to the fall of the Cabinet.

The Conservatives found themselves in a minority at the parliamentary elections of February 23, 1974. The new government, formed by Harold Wilson (leader of the Labour Party), met the miners' basic demands, granting them a 20 per cent wage increase and extending their annual leave to three weeks. The Labour government grew active in fighting inflation, pressing for revitalising economic life and carrying through certain social and economic reforms. Labour lifted the state of emergency and repealed the Industrial Relations Act. Pensions and unemployment allowances were somewhat increased; and the rent rise was "frozen" for a year. However, the Labour government failed to overcome the crisis developments in the economy. There was still a huge army of

unemployed, with wages falling and prices rising. Increased economic and political instability led to Prime Minister Harold Wilson stepping down as the Party leader and Head of Government in March 1976. James Callaghan, a new Labour Party leader, came to head the Labour government on April 5. But neither he nor his government succeeded in resolving the nation's complex economic and social-political problems. Britain experienced growing financial difficulties and had to ask for more foreign loans. Her total foreign debt amounted to 20,000 million dollars.

From the latter half of the 1970s on, the working class increasingly resented the Labour "social contract" policy which restricted wage increase but could not restrain that of prices which outpaced it. In consequence, the strike movement gained ground. Among those involved in strike action in Britain in the latter half of the 1970s were the workers of the iron and steel and motor industries, railwaymen, lorry drivers, health-service staff, printers, fire brigades, municipal and civil servants. The strike struggle, expressing the workers' discontent over the policy of the Labour government, was undercutting its positions. The situation in Northern Ireland continued to worsen as well.

Under the Labour government, Britain's foreign policy became more realistic and constructive. The government supported the idea of a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Harold Wilson, as Head of Government, participated in the third stage of the Conference in Helsinki and put his signature to the Final Act. British-Soviet co-operation broadened appreciably in the area of trade, economy, science, engineering and culture. Prime Minister Wilson visited the Soviet Union in February 1975. Important documents were signed.

*Great Britain in the 1980s.* The nation's economic situation was rather involved in the 1980s. There were more pronounced conservative trends in political life and an overall rightward shift. The nation that once "ruled the seas" saw its international positions further weakening. Britain's governing circles departed from the policy of international detente and changed over to heightening tension in world affairs.

In 1979-1981, Britain lived through one of her worst-

ever economic crises. By May 1981, industrial production had dropped by 17.9 per cent compared with the highest pre-crisis point in June 1979. The economic crisis affected practically all the sectors of the economy, particularly the manufacturing industries (iron and steel, shipbuilding, motor industry, chemical, textile and garment industries). The extractive industry, including North Sea oil production, also suffered. Inflation sharply increased in those years. There were wholesale layoffs of factory and office workers. Unemployment rose to an unprecedented peak of 3 million, or 12.7 per cent of the work-force, early in 1982. The crisis brought with it a marked fall of real wages. An upturn in the British economy began in 1983.

A government of the Conservative Party which had won the elections was formed on May 4, 1979, shortly before the crisis broke out. It was headed by Margaret Thatcher, the leader of the Conservatives.

The Thatcher Government made a supreme effort to extricate the nation out of the economic crisis. It declared fighting inflation to be its top priority. The Tories raised indirect taxation, trimmed social spending, and attacked wages and the rights of trade unions. The Conservative government augmented appropriations in support of big monopolies. In the meantime, military spending rose appreciably. Furthermore, the Thatcher Government set course for a systematic curtailment of the nationalised sector of the economy. Oil, aerospace, shipbuilding, transport and other industries were privatised.

The Labour Party, now in opposition, experienced considerable difficulties. On the one hand, its left wing was gaining strength. But, on the other, the rightists split up the Party. In March 1981, they declared that they were leaving the Party and soon established a Social Democratic Party (SDP) which set out to dislodge the Labour Party and take over as the main opposition force. The Labour positions were weakened. It was more than ever divided on the issues of domestic and foreign policy.

At the opening of 1981, the Conservative government faced the threat of a national strike of mine workers with a prospect of solidarity action by railwaymen and steel workers. It was by making certain concessions that the

Conservative government managed to head off a national crisis.

But the situation remained fluid. A general strike at coal mines began in March 1984. The miners' struggle was steadfast and sustained. The authorities and employers used all kinds of means to break the strikers' will. Thousands of them were arrested, and hundreds injured during clashes with police and scabs. Almost a year later, on March 5, 1985, the miners returned to work as an organised force, declaring themselves determined to keep on fighting.

The increased discrimination against the "coloured" population under Conservative government induced it to fight harder for its ethnic and social rights. There were some violent clashes between the "Black ghetto" and police early in 1980.

At the same time, a mass anti-war movement got under way directed against the danger of a world thermo-nuclear conflict. The strongest protest was against the government's consent to the deployment of nuclear missiles. In 1982, peace activists set up 10 "peace camps". One that became known throughout the world was the camp organised by women near the American missile base at Greenham Common in September 1981.

The situation in Northern Ireland grew from bad to worse under Conservative rule. Wholesale arrests continued, and there was no let-up in terrorist action by Protestant extremists. Intense unrest erupted in Ulster in the latter half of 1980. Inmates of the Long Kesh prison staged hunger strikes demanding the status of political prisoners. Ten of them, including a British MP, Robert Sands, tragically died. There was a further wave of anti-British actions in consequence in Ulster.

There were Consultative Assembly elections in Northern Ireland on October 20, 1982, with a majority vote won by the Unionists (partisans of keeping Ulster within the United Kingdom). However, both the Protestants and the Catholics declared boycott of the Assembly because it did not meet the demands of either of them. A British-Irish agreement to "bring peace" to Ulster was signed on November 15, 1985. But even that agreement, which, as a matter of fact, changed nothing about the situation in Ulster, threw the Unionists into a fit of violent



outry. The attempts of the Conservatives to settle the crisis in Ulster failed.

The Thatcher Government supported the American plan for the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe and gave its consent to 160 such missiles being stationed on the territory of Great Britain. In 1986, they signed an agreement with the US about sharing in the Star Wars programme.

There was an Anglo-Argentinian war over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) in April-June 1982. Upon recapturing the islands, the Conservative government announced that they would be converted into a major British military base.

Britain gave her backing to many US acts, as those in the Middle East, Iran, and Central America. The Conservatives backed up Pakistan and Afghan counter-revolutionaries in their struggle against the legitimate revolutionary government of the DRA.

The Conservatives launched a "hard-line" policy towards the Soviet Union and launched an anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaign, along with artificially restraining Anglo-Soviet trade. Anglo-Soviet relations were gradually resumed or revitalised only by the mid-1980s. Exchanges of official delegations were resumed. There was a widespread response to the visit by a delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, led by Mikhail Gorbachev, to Great Britain in December 1984. The visit of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to the USSR in 1987 and Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Britain in 1989 were of great importance. The Soviet-British negotiations, during which the state of, and prospects for, bilateral relations as well as international problems were discussed, heralded an improvement of the overall climate in Soviet-British relations.

## § 2. Ireland

After the end of the war, Ireland, which was Great Britain's dominion, was pressing for full economic and political independence. From 1932 on, the country was ruled by the Fianna Fail (Soldiers of Destiny) party which campaigned for national "self-sufficiency". The

opposition party, Fine Gael (United Irish Party) called for Ireland's increased economic integration with England. In the meantime, British capital was penetrating the country's economy. The policy of the Fianna Fail Government, headed by Eamon de Valera, incurred the growing resentment of the broad mass of working people. The 1948 parliamentary elections were won by the Fine Gael Party which had teamed up with the Republican, Labour and Farmers' parties. Its representative, John A. Costello headed the coalition government. Under pressure from national forces, it decided on Ireland leaving the British Commonwealth and a sovereign Irish Republic being proclaimed. The decision took effect as from April 1949.

In the 1950s and the 1960s, Ireland was alternately ruled by representatives of the two main bourgeois parties. Their policies differed little. Strong economic links with England were maintained. At the same time, investment from the US, the FRG, France, the Netherlands, and Canada penetrated into the country's economy. Little by little, Ireland developed from an agrarian country into an industrialised nation. The political situation in it was distinguished by a close combination of the class struggle of working people with the national reunification movement (that is, the movement for the reunification of Ulster, which remained within Great Britain, with Ireland). The governing quarters maintained a conciliatory attitude to the status of Ulster. However, the nationalist forces demanding the reunification of the whole of Ireland within the framework of one republic gained strength. The Communists (the Irish Workers' League) reconstituted their party in 1948. The Irish Republican Army (IRA), which pressed for the country to be reunited by force of arms, stepped up its activities in 1954. A new republican party appeared in 1957, calling itself Sinn Féin (We Ourselves) after the name of the fighters for the country's national liberation. A mass movement of solidarity with the anti-British struggle emerged in Ireland, following the exacerbation of the situation in Ulster in 1968.

Political instability increased in Ireland in the mid-1970s. There were more acts of terrorism, largely arising from the growing anti-British sentiment. The govern-

ment resorted to emergency measures. There were, besides, frequent meetings between government leaders of Ireland and Britain to discuss ways of overcoming the crisis in Ulster.

In the early 1980s, Ireland once more experienced an economic recession. There was a sharpening struggle in parliament over the government's economic programme. The Ulster problem was still one of those central to the nation's political life. Ireland's governing quarters tried to sway the Thatcher Government to a complete association of Ulster with Ireland. However, Britain did not change her approach to the problem. All she did was to make some piecemeal concessions. An Anglo-Irish agreement providing for Ireland to have a voice in running the affairs in Ulster was signed on November 15, 1985.

In the early post-war years, Ireland's foreign policy was geared to co-operation with Britain and other Western nations. For a long time, Ireland did nothing to promote relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. In 1955, she joined the UN, Ireland did not join NATO, but she did join the EEC in 1973. Ireland's diplomatic, trading and economic links with the USSR were resumed in the early 1970s. Her representative took part in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in 1975. The 1980s saw Ireland build up her links with socialist countries.

### § 3. France

*The Fourth Republic.* The Third Republic, which had existed in France since 1875, was abolished. The war caused extensive damage to the national economy. The people's material condition deteriorated. France's colonial empire began to disintegrate in the course of the war.

A new alignment of political forces had taken shape in France towards the end of the war. Many bourgeois parties ceased to exist, while new ones were created. In 1944, the former Catholic Party of Popular Democrats was transformed into a Popular Republican Movement (MRP) representing the interests of monopoly capital. A Republican Liberty Party (PRL) was formed

in 1945 to defend the interests of the big bourgeoisie. A Democratic and Socialist Union of Resistance (UDSR) representing the interests of the middle and lower middle classes was created at the same time. An alliance grouping the followers of General de Gaulle was founded in 1946. The Party of Radicals expressing the interests of some monopolies as well as middle and lower middle classes, resumed its activities. The French Communist Party (PCF) became an important political force. At the end of 1945, the PCF had a membership of about 800,000. The Socialist Party resumed its activities late in 1944 (in 1946, the Party had a membership of 350,000); in the early post-war years the Socialists acted in unity with the Communist Party. The General Confederation of Labour (CGL) became France's leading trade union centre.

From August 30, 1944, France had a provisional government headed by Charles de Gaulle. The government comprised two PCF members. Its domestic and foreign policies reflected, to a certain extent, the anti-fascist, democratic demands of the masses. Under pressure from the left, the provisional government met some of the social demands of working people. It raised wages, pensions and family allowances. One important development was the nationalisation of coal mines, the Renault Car Works and some other enterprises.

The foreign policy of the opening period was a continued effort to promote co-operation with the countries of the anti-fascist coalition. On December 10, 1944, de Gaulle signed a Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance in Moscow. France played her part in crushing fascist Germany in the closing stages of the war, and signed the instrument on its unconditional surrender. She was included in the Council of Foreign Ministers and the Control Council for Germany, and admitted to the UN Security Council as a permanent member. France developed a close relationship with the US and Britain.

One problem France had to face was that of economic recovery and democratisation. In the Constituent Assembly elections on October 21, 1945, the Communists and Socialists polled most votes. The PCF spoke up for the formation of a bipartisan government in alliance with

the Socialists. But the Socialists rejected the Communist proposal. So a coalition government under de Gaulle was formed. It comprised 5 Communists, 5 Socialists, 5 MRP members and 6 Gaullists. But because of contradictions with the majority of the Constituent Assembly, de Gaulle resigned on January 20, 1946. It was then Felix Grouin, Socialist, that was appointed Head of Government, and from June, 1946, Georges Bidault, MRP leader.

In the battle against the forces of reaction, the working people secured a number of important social-economic and political reforms. The coal, gas, power and some of engineering industry, as well as five largest banks were nationalised in 1946. Many enterprises and railways were restored within a short space of time; the coal-mining industry made rapid headway.

In September 1946, the Constituent Assembly approved a draft Constitution. Under it, France was declared a parliamentary republic. The Constitution enshrined some democratic and social rights of working people. The Constitution of the Fourth Republic was an unquestionable gain for the progressive forces. Presidential elections on January 16, 1947 were won by Vincent Auriol, right-wing Socialist.

The recovery and further development of the French economy, industry above all, proceeded apace in the first post-war decade. In 1948, France's industrial production surpassed the pre-war level. In agriculture, that level was exceeded by 1950. In 1958, industrial output was already over double the pre-war level. New industries appeared, such as gas and oil production, oil refining, atomic, electronic, chemical. There was a considerable renewal of fixed capital promoted by the state's intervention in the economy and foreign loans.

A new party (Union of the French People—RPF) appeared, on de Gaulle's initiative, in April 1947, which called for the 1946 Constitution to be cancelled and a "strong-arm" regime established. The political situation was strained. In May 1947, the Communist ministers were removed from the government. At the same time, the right-wing forces managed to split up the trade unions and other democratic mass organisations. Persecution of Communists and trade union leaders began.

In the summer of 1948, France subscribed to the Marshall Plan and concluded a number of economic, political and military accords with the USA. In 1949, she joined NATO, backed up the plans for the remilitarisation of West Germany, and offered her territory for US military bases. In 1946-1954, French troops waged a war against the peoples of Indochina.

The effect of all that was to exacerbate social contradictions and intensify the strike struggles. Action by working people in November 1947 escalated into a general strike involving about three million people. A mass peace movement sprang up in France on the Communist Party's initiative. The 1st World Congress of Defenders of Peace took place in Paris in April 1949. Frédéric Joliot-Curie, an outstanding French scientist, was one of the sponsors and leaders of that movement.

The French peace activists collected over 14 million signatures to the Stockholm Appeal to ban nuclear weapons, and 12 million went on record for the Peace Pact between Great Powers. Working people obstructed the shipment of arms and troops to Vietnam and Korea. There was growing pressure for ending the colonial war in Indochina. Scores of soldiers and sailors refused to fight against the Vietnamese people. France was compelled to sign an agreement restoring peace in Indochina (July 20-21, 1954).

The anti-war movement was closely bound up with working people's action in defence of their vital interests. A postal service strike which began on August 4, 1953, escalated into a general strike involving four million people. The authorities had to yield ground.

By the mid-1950s, France faced the threat of an impending dramatic political crisis. There was a realignment of political forces and parties. Yet another problem arose late in 1954: an armed national liberation struggle began in Algeria in November 1954, which went on until the spring of 1962. It had a tremendous impact on the life of French society. The PCF strongly opposed the French war in Algeria. A movement to bring it to an end got under way in France in the summer of 1955. But at the same time, there was a movement in the French Army for a violent suppression of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Algerian people. A neo-fascist

movement emerged. Underground neo-fascist groups sprang up in the army and within the police forces.

A Republican Front government under Guy Mollet, Socialist leader, was formed on January 31, 1956. The Communist Party declared its support for the new government. At first, the Guy Mollet Government carried through a number of social welfare measures in the interest of working people. In March 1956, France recognised the independence of Morocco and Tunisia. However, the Socialist-led government soon surrendered to the reactionary forces and followed in the wake of right-wing parties. A 500,000-strong army was sent to Algeria. Late in October 1956, France joined Britain and Israel in a war of aggression against Egypt.

The war in Algeria imposed a heavy financial burden on the French people and cost them dear. There was a flare-up of the strike movement in France, with meetings and demonstrations called to demand an end to the Algerian war. Reactionary forces rebelled in Algeria in April 1958. In a bid to find a way out of the crisis which had thus developed, the bourgeoisie counted on General de Gaulle creating a new political regime with strong executive authority. The majority of the National Assembly confirmed de Gaulle as Head of Government on June 1, 1958. On June 2, de Gaulle received emergency powers and dissolved the National Assembly. That put an end to the Fourth Republic in France.

*The Fifth Republic Established.* Having received emergency powers, de Gaulle concentrated his attention on strengthening executive authority. The first move in that direction was to frame a new Constitution which restricted the rights of Parliament and enhanced presidential authority. In a referendum on September 28, 1958, the majority of the electorate (17.7 million or 79.25 per cent) supported the new Constitution. Under it, the power of the President of the Republic and the government was substantially enlarged, while the legislative rights of Parliament were drastically pared down. At the same time, the basic civil liberties proclaimed by the 1946 Constitution were preserved.

With the Constitution adopted, preparations for parliamentary elections got under way. De Gaulle's followers created a new political party, the Union for the New

Republic (UNR), on October 1, 1958, which expressed the interests of the financial oligarchy of France. Preparations for the elections to the National Assembly passed off in the context of a close political battle. Fascist-like elements raided the premises of Communist organisations, terrorised voters, staged disturbances. Yet the election returns assured de Gaulle parliamentary support. He was elected President of the Republic on December 21, 1958.

The establishment of the new regime in France accelerated the process of concentration and centralisation of production and capital, formation of large monopolies and their progressive merger with the machinery of the state. Industries concerned with the country's militarisation were fast gaining ground with the aid of government subsidies, orders and other benefits. Notable headway was made also in such new industries as nuclear power and rocketry. There was a thorough reconstruction of the metal-working, chemical and aircraft production industries. The petroleum industry was advancing by leaps and bounds. The production of consumer goods (cars, refrigerators, TV sets and washing machines) was also growing.

In foreign affairs, General de Gaulle committed himself to France's self-determination and independence and set course for improving relations with the socialist countries, particularly with the Soviet Union. He had to take up, though not at once, a realistic position in respect of the national liberation movement, notably, the struggle of the people of Algeria for independence. Most of the French colonies in Africa became independent in 1960.

In September 1959, de Gaulle announced recognition of the right of the Algerian people to self-determination. In reply, the ultras triggered off yet another rebellion in Algeria on January 24, 1960. Working people reacted by calling a general strike on February 1, involving about 12 million people. The authorities had to move to quell the rebellion. In February 1961, the ultras created a terrorist Secret Army Organisation (OAS) and on April 22, they staged yet another rebellion in Algeria. However, working people struck back to check the rebels once more. Twelve million took part in a national stoppage on April 24.



The mounting popular movement against the war in Algeria compelled the government to hasten negotiations with the provisional government of the Algerian Republic. Accords on a cease-fire and on granting independence to Algeria were signed in Évian in March 1962. Algeria's independence signified the final collapse of the French colonial empire. In the mid-1960s, France left the military organisation of NATO. Franco-Soviet co-operation broadened. In June 1966, de Gaulle made an official visit to the USSR which was an important step forward to international detente. The French government denounced the American intervention in Indochina.

The situation at home in the 1960s remained unstable. There was no let-up in the strike struggle. The government was forced to meet at least some of the workers' demands. An important upshot of the strike struggle was an increased tendency for the unity of the working-class movement. In the autumn of 1965, a number of democratic organisations, such as Socialists and Radicals, joined to form a Federation of Democratic and Socialist Left Forces (FDSLFL). In December 1966, the FDSLFL and the PCF concluded an accord for joint action to bring about a democratic political system, achieve balanced economic growth, secure a rise in the working people's standard of living and compel a policy of peace and peaceful co-operation.

The government's policy deepened the contradictions between the big bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the vast majority of the people, on the other. In May-June 1968, the political crisis resolved itself into a close confrontation of democratic forces with those of the reactionary bourgeoisie. That chain of events was started off by student action for a democratic system of higher education and for major reforms of the country's political and social order. The student struggle, in spite of the excesses of leftist groups calling for an "immediate socialist revolution" in France, was a progressive development, nevertheless. There was a general strike on the CGT's (General Confederation of Labour) initiative on May 13, which sparked off the most serious political crisis in France's post-war history. Workers, backing up the students, fought for the pressing economic and social demands. On May 14, they began to occupy enterprises.

The general strike involved about 10 million people, i.e., the majority of the French working people. As a result of the sweeping action in May-June 1968, the working people secured substantial concessions from the government and employers. Wages were put up by 13-15 per cent everywhere.

On April 27, 1969, de Gaulle announced his resignation from the presidency. Georges Pompidou was elected President in June 1969. He committed himself to the policy of de Gaulle. But he died in 1974, before the end of his term. A candidate of bourgeois parties, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was elected President of the French Republic in April 1974.

There was an economic crisis in France in 1974-1975. Industrial production in May 1975 was down by 15 per cent from August 1974. Even after the crisis (1974-75) was over, the economic situation remained involved. The growth rates were unstable. The government had to do something to overcome the aftermath of the crisis. In September 1975, it launched a programme to revitalise economic activity by encouraging consumption. In 1976, the government put forward an "austerity" plan, freezing prices and restricting wage increases. But all those measures produced little effect.

The latter half of the 1970s saw a growing confrontation between the government majority and the alliance of left forces (PCF, PSF and the Left Radical Movement).

In international affairs, France carried on, essentially, the foreign policy as it had been conceived under de Gaulle. The French government spoke up against Israel's aggressive ambitions in the Middle East and contributed towards ending the war in Vietnam. France participated in the European Conference which ended in Helsinki in August 1975. Franco-Soviet relations moved a stage ahead. A number of important documents were signed as a result of the visits of Georges Pompidou and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to the USSR in the 1970s. On balance, the French foreign policy line of that decade went far towards promoting the process of international detente.

France in the 1980s. There was a crisis of overproduction late in 1979, which continued into the middle of 1981. After it was over, France's economic develop-

ment was still rather slow. As a matter of fact, the country was in a state of depression. The economic crisis exacerbated the domestic political situation. Strike struggles broke out in entire regions in 1980. Extremist groups became more active.

However, it was in the course of the 1981 presidential elections that the social and political contradictions achieved the greatest intensity. François Mitterand, a Socialist, was elected President of France on May 10, 1981. The parliamentary elections on June 14 and 21, 1981, resulted in a comfortable victory for the left bloc which polled almost 57 per cent of the total vote. A government of Socialists, Communists and representatives of other left forces was formed in the wake of those elections. That is to say that a left coalition came to power in France after 23 years of rule by right-wing parties. It was an unquestionable success of the working-class and democratic movement. The new government carried through a number of measures to raise the minimum wages by 10 per cent, and pensions and family allowances, by 20-25 per cent. The working week was subsequently shortened by stages, the paid leave was extended, and action was taken to end unemployment.

A Bill to nationalise 18 banks, 2 financial and 5 major industrial firms was adopted after a prolonged stonewalling by the Senate. Besides, some metallurgical and munitions companies were put under government control. Certain reforms were carried out in the political field as well.

Bourgeois elements went out of their way to thwart the measures of the left-wing government coalition. This had an adverse effect on the nation's economic performance. From the middle of 1982 on, the government once more resorted to an "austerity" policy which struck at working people's real incomes at once.

The policy of the government of left forces, aimed at resolving economic difficulties largely at working people's expense, incurred increased resentment and resistance. By the mid-1980s, the government of left forces was clearly in crisis. In 1984, the Communists decided that they would no longer enter the government because they disapproved of the "austerity" policy. The Socialist Party was evolving rightward. That increased its isolation from the electoral majority.

In the elections for the National Assembly in March 1980, the right-wing bourgeois parties obtained a majority and formed a government of their own, which at once declared its intention to denationalise a number of state-controlled companies and enterprises.

Within a short space of time, the new government drafted some 30 Bills providing for more benefits for the vested interests, price decontrol, abolishment of taxes on big fortunes, and denationalisation of financial and industrial enterprises. It pushed through a decision to freeze wages, cut government spending, devalued the franc, etc. All that touched off an outburst of protest from working people and all democratic forces.

The foreign policy course was modified in a way: the pro-Atlantic trends became more pronounced, France continued to build up her armaments, above all nuclear arms, and was still opposed to a total cessation of the testing of nuclear weapons. She supported the deployment of American intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. She did much to invigorate her relations with the United States and West Germany. France's relationships with the USSR and other socialist countries were inconsistent. There was a certain regression of political relations between France and the Soviet Union, particularly in the opening years of the left-bloc government. That was due to a different approach to the problems of Afghanistan and Poland and to some other international political issues. However, the Soviet-French dialogue was being progressively resumed.

François Mitterand was re-elected President in the 1988 elections. The bourgeois parties gained no parliamentary majority.

#### § 4. The Federal Republic of Germany

*West Germany. The FRG Established.* After the end of the Second World War, three Western zones of Germany were under occupation by the USA, Great Britain and France. Anti-fascist organisations were active on the territory of West Germany immediately after it had been liberated from fascism. They relied on the working class, Communists, Social Democrats and other

anti-fascists. The members of these organisations established control over food and material stocks and their distribution. They pressed for the arrest of important Nazis and helped rebuild the war-ravaged economy. Anti-fascist-minded workers took over enterprises, saved them from demolition and set production going. Works councils acting as organisers of production appeared at a number of enterprises, notably in the mines of the Ruhr. The unity of the working class was growing.

Right after the end of the hostilities, the Western authorities put through certain measures against Germany's largest monopolies. But little by little, the Western Powers began to depart from the joint decisions taken in Yalta and Potsdam. They refused to carry through the decartelisation of giant monopoly corporations and the dismantling of armament-making capacities. Institutions of local self-government were created in the Western zones in 1945-1946. These comprised primarily representatives of the big bourgeoisie, including some former leaders of the fascist Reich. West German industrialists began to be released from custody late in 1945. The decisions about Germany's denazification were not carried out either. More and more of the former officials of the Nazi regime were let out of jails and into the administration of the country's political and economic life. This went on together with a hounding of anti-fascist organisations.

The end of the war brought with it a certain political revival of different West German population groups. The resumption of the activities of the Communist and Social Democratic organisations was a matter of great importance. There was an advancing process of co-operation between Communists and Social Democrats, and preparations went on for them to unite within one party. However, incited by the authorities, the leaders of right-wing Social Democracy, with Kurt Schumacher at their head, opposed unity with the Communists. From then on, the two working-class parties developed separately in the Western zones.

The West German big bourgeoisie began to form its own organisations as well. In June 1945, it established a Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in Cologne, professing "Christian socialism". A Christian Social

Union (CSU) was created in Bavaria in October 1945, which concluded a co-operation agreement with the CDU. A Free Democratic Party (FDP) began to operate in the Western zones in January 1946, and throughout Germany in December 1948. All those parties expressed the interests of the big industrial and commercial bourgeoisie of West Germany.

The defeat of fascism made it possible to bring labour unions back to life. A German Federation of Trade Unions (GFTU) was established at a congress in Munich on October 12-14, 1949. Under workers' pressure, the GFTU policy documents were drawn up so as to demand the abolition of monopolies, socialisation of the basic sectors of industry, and trade union involvement in the administration of the economy. The unions' short-term demands were rather radical.

The opening moves of the Western powers in their respective occupation zones of Germany showed them to have set course for dividing the country and creating a separate West German state. The British and American occupation zones were united to form a so-called Bizonia on December 2, 1946. It was turned into a Trizonia upon the accession of the French zone in February 1948. That was a step towards splitting up the state. A Parliamentary Council was formed of representatives of the Landtags in the Western zones upon the proposal of the occupation authorities. It met in session in Bonn on September 1, 1948 to consider a draft Constitution prepared by an expert commission. The Western Powers brought before the Parliamentary Council an Occupation Statute they had framed, substantially restricting the sovereignty of the new state. The West German Basic Law and the Occupation Statute came into effect on May 23, 1949.

Elections for the Bundestag (the lower house of Parliament) were held on August 14, 1949. The CDU/CSU polled 7.4 million votes (141 seats), the SDPG, 6.9 million votes (132 seats), the FDP, 2.8 million votes (52 seats), and the CPG, upwards of 1.3 million votes (15 seats). The upper house (Bundesrat) was composed of Land representatives elected by the Landtags. Theodor Heuss, leader of the FDP, was elected the first President of the Republic, and Konrad Adenauer,

leader of the CDU, became Head of Government (Chancellor). The country was thus divided, its Western part becoming known as the Federal Republic of Germany.

The condition of the working people in West Germany was rather hard in the immediate post-war years. They launched a struggle to improve their material standards. Strike action spread far and wide as early as 1946. The politically most advanced section of the West German proletariat and other democratic forces rose against the policy of division and took part in the deliberations of the German people's congresses in East Germany.

*Monopoly Capital Positions Strengthened and the FRG Remilitarised.* By the end of 1950, West Germany had regained the pre-war economic development level of this part of the country. In subsequent years, it achieved fast economic growth rates. That was due to a variety of reasons: the survival of a powerful industrial potential in the Western part of Germany; the availability of a large skilled work force; modernisation of production incorporating the latest scientific and technological advances; exemption of the country, especially in the immediate post-war years, from large unproductive military expenses; the interest of American business, which had penetrated the economy of the FRG, in its rapid expansion; high demand for consumer goods at home as well as in other countries of Western Europe; increased role and possibilities of the state in the accumulation and redistribution of capital. Somewhat later on, the economic development of the FRG began to be stimulated by intensified militarisation. The economic expansionism of West German capital was growing apace. All that made it possible for the FRG to come second in the capitalist world's industrial production. It became a strong industrial power, with the second largest gold reserve in the capitalist world.

The FRG got actively involved in the integration processes which went on in Western Europe. It was one of the founders of the European Coal and Steel Community as well as of the Common Market (EEC). The FRG held dominant positions in these communities, due to its economic strength. It showed interest in the creation of supranational bodies within the system

of West-European integration, expecting thereby to establish its influence both in the economies and policies of the countries of Western Europe.

The Adenauer Government pursued a policy to suit the interests of Big Business. As monopoly capital strengthened its positions, the CDU evolved rightward. Conservative trends gained ground in the CSU as well. Revenge-seeking and neo-fascist organisations sprang up. Many convicted war criminals and active Nazis were let out of prisons. Pro-fascist elements filled important posts in the civil service and, particularly, in the judiciary.

The government's commitment to militarising the country posed a great danger to the cause of peace. The FRG was admitted to NATO in May 1955, whereupon it had a Ministry of Defence created and conscription introduced. It was the former Nazi generals and officers that were making up the Bundeswehr. The FRG was getting actively involved in the policy of the North Atlantic bloc.

The militarisation drive brought with it an intensified offensive of the ruling establishment against the democratic forces. The activities of a number of progressive organisations were banned. The Communist Party of Germany was harassed most of all. Malicious prosecution started against it in 1951 culminated in a court verdict of August 17, 1956, banning CPG activities. However, in spite of the witch-hunt, West German Communists went on fighting for the interests of working people, for peace and democracy.

The governing quarters of West Germany made extensive use of a policy of social manoeuvring. The West German working people secured a rising standard of living in those years.

An anti-war movement gathered strength in the face of the increasing militarisation and a growing danger of revenge-seeking elements. A "Fight the Atomic Death" movement got under way in 1958. It held overflow meetings and big anti-war demonstrations. Annual Easter marches, involving tens of thousands of people, were part of the anti-militarist movement.

Economic growth rates slowed down in the 1960s as West Germany's economic recovery was over and



it set out on what might be termed as the normal track of development for capitalism. In 1963, the West German economy experienced a certain recession, and in 1966-1967 it plunged into the first cyclical crisis of overproduction since the war. The economic crisis developed along with increasing political instability rooted in the discontent of large sections of the population with the government's external and internal policies. Strike struggles became appreciably more intense in the 1960s. The latter half of that decade saw a mounting movement of youth, students, intellectuals and professional people. There were widespread activities against the FRG's nuclear rearming, for peace in Vietnam, and for a "new Eastern policy".

On the other hand, political instability brought with it substantially intensified action by revenge-seeking and neo-Nazi forces. A National Democratic Party of Germany (NDP), with a programme openly declaring Nazi slogans, was founded in 1964.

The government's home and foreign policies suffered setbacks. In the autumn of 1963, the Adenauer Government had to resign. The office of Chancellor was taken over by another CDU man, Ludwig Erhard. The new government carried on, as a matter of fact, from where its predecessor left off, having only slightly changed the style and method of its policy. In consequence, Erhard did not succeed in building up CDU influence and had to step down in October 1966.

A coalition government of the CDU/CSU and the SDPG, headed by the CDU leader, Kurt-Georg Kiesinger, was formed on December 1, 1966. It came to be known as Big Coalition rule.

The Kiesinger Government began passing over to new methods of state-monopoly control, with economic planning as an important aspect of this policy. In that way, the ruling establishment hoped to maintain the stability of the West German economy. There was a continued offensive against democratic freedoms in the Big Coalition government. On May 30, 1968, the ruling circles got the Bundestag to approve "emergency laws" which could be used to restrict democracy.

Intensified activities of the working class, the struggle of the working masses against the emergency laws,

with the Communists in the forefront, the CPG's effective combination of illegal and legal forms of activity, the rising influence of Communist Party members in the working-class and democratic-organisations and the growing danger of revenge-seeking elements and neo-Nazism strengthened the hand of those who were pressing for the Communist Party's activities to be relegalised. In the face of the growing protest, the government had to give permission for the Communists' legal activities. However, the Communist Party had to assume a new form. It was reconstituted as the German Communist Party late in September 1968 (as distinct from the Communist Party of Germany).

A Convention on Relations Between the Three Powers (the USA, Britain and France) and the Federal Republic of Germany, replacing the Occupation Statute, was signed on May 26, 1952. Under it, the FRG joined the European Economic Community. This was followed by the signing of the Paris Accords on October 23, 1954, bringing the FRG into the Western European Union. The Bundestag ratified these accords on February 27, 1955. In consequence, the FRG was involved in military blocs and created a half-a-million-strong army.

Negotiations in Moscow in September 1955, led to diplomatic relations being established between the FRG and the USSR. However, the hostile attitude to the GDR and the demand for a revision of the territorial and political results of the Second World War were much of an impediment to improving its relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In December 1955, the FRG ruling circles put forward a Hallstein Doctrine, peremptorily demanding that the states having relations with the FRG establish none with the GDR.

The Big Coalition government under Kiesinger declared itself for a "new Eastern policy", which took the wind out of the Hallstein Doctrine. The FRG became the major trading partner of the USSR among the capitalist countries. But Kiesinger was still refusing to recognise the territorial and political realities as they had arisen in Europe from the Second World War. He stood pat against the recognition of the GDR.

The FRG under SDPG/FDP Government. There were

serious changes both in the international situation and inside the FRG at the turn of the 1970s. The positions of realistically-minded elements of the bourgeoisie were strengthened and the influence of progressive sections of public opinion increased. The policies of the Cold War and revenge were losing their supporters. This had its effect on the 1969 parliamentary elections, which led to the formation of an SDPG/FDP coalition government under Willy Brandt, SDPG Chairman. The Brandt Government set about actively conducting a "new Eastern policy" (Neue Ostpolitik).

Its important landmark was the conclusion of a Treaty between the USSR and the FRG in Moscow on August 12, 1970, recognising the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe. The parties pledged unfailing commitment to the territorial integrity of all states in Europe within their present frontiers and declared that they did not have nor would ever have any territorial claims against whosoever. The inviolability of the border with the PPR along the Oder-Neisse line and the frontier between the FRG and the GDR was acknowledged. Both parties also declared themselves for calling an all-European conference on security and co-operation. The Moscow Treaty was a major development in international relations. It contributed towards strengthening the peace in Europe and in the world.

The Soviet-West German Treaty provided conditions for the relations of the FRG with other socialist countries to be normalised. The FRG signed a treaty with the PPR in December 1970, with the GDR in December 1972, and with the CzSSR in December 1973. It established diplomatic relations with Bulgaria and Hungary. All that made for a healthier political climate in Europe. Meetings between the top leaders of the USSR and the FRG became a regular feature. Important agreements on co-operation in various fields were signed.

The new government's policy was resisted by reactionary elements. The conclusion of the Moscow Treaty in 1970 met with strong opposition from the CDU/CSU bloc which sought to drag out and thwart the ratification of the treaty. The opposition went out of its way to discredit Willy Brandt personally. He was forced to resign as Chancellor on May 7, 1974, keeping the

post of SDPG Chairman. Helmut Schmidt became Chancellor on May 16, 1974.

In 1974-1975, the country experienced an economic crisis. The Schmidt Government declared itself committed to creating a model democratic state of "social justice". In 1976, it passed a Bill on Workers' Co-participation in Industrial Management. Another one, promulgated in 1977, modified the pensions scheme. It was decided to reform the system of health services and vocational training.

In foreign affairs, Schmidt pledged support for the policy of easing international tension. However, some trends in no way conducive to it began to build up in the latter half of the 1970s. The Schmidt Government agreed to the deployment of more American troops on the territory of the FRG and supported the American plan for intermediate-range nuclear missiles to be stationed in Western Europe. That went together with the process of building up the political and economic influence of the FRG within the system of West-European integration.

*The FRG in the 1980s. Right-Wing Conservative Forces Strengthened.* There was a further economic recession in the latter half of 1980. The gross national product shrank, industrial production fell off, while inflation mounted and so did unemployment (2.2 million in 1983). An economic upturn began only in the latter half of 1983. The crisis pushed more of the electorate away from the government coalition. Within it, there were deeper divisions over a number of important issues of domestic and foreign policies. The FDP Ministers resigned from the Schmidt Government on September 17, 1982, and the Party decided to form a coalition with the CDU/CSU. On October 1, the Bundestag elected CDU Chairman Helmut Kohl Chancellor, while Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FDP Chairman, became Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs. So the coming of the new CDU/CSU-FDP bloc after nearly 13 years of SDPG/FDP coalition government meant a rightward shift in the country's political course and increased influence of the neo-conservative forces.

In home affairs, the Kohl Government set out to

trim social programmes, restrict wages and encourage employer profit-making. The proclamation of a "social market economy" doctrine led to all-round encouragement of private investment. Family allowances were pared down as early as 1983, and so were appropriations for education, the pensions scheme and unemployment relief.

Yet another sign of the rightward shift in the political life of the FRG was intensified activity of extreme right-wing organisations. In 1980, there were 75 neo-Nazi organisations with a total membership of about 20,000. The neo-Nazis put out their own publications and stored up weapons; associations of former SS-men operated in full freedom. On September 26, 1980, neo-Nazis planted a bomb in Munich which exploded, leaving 13 people dead and 233 wounded. In 1982, right-wing extremists committed 2,047 offences. In the wake of crisis developments in Poland, "Land fellowships" of all kinds stepped up their activities, with their leaders openly demanding the "recovery" of Polish territories.

The economic crisis had the effect of exacerbating social contradictions. It was no longer economic demands alone, but political ones as well that factory and office workers struck for. With international tension rising, West German trade unions became more active in their stand for peace and disarmament. There was a considerably stronger mood in favour of detente within the SDPG. In the autumn of 1983, the Party officially dropped its support for the NATO rearming (Nachrüstung) decision and opposed the stationing of American nuclear missiles on the country's territory. Cooperation between the SDPG and the SUPG on the issues of security in Europe broadened. The influence of the Green Party (founded in 1980), which was active in the anti-war movement, was rising.

The German Communist Party was a factor of paramount importance in working for the interests of the people, for peace and democracy. It was consistently pressing for all democratic forces to rally round in keeping up detente and preventing American missiles being sited in West Germany. The GCP did much to preserve and extend the social and democratic rights

of working people. It went on opposing the disgraceful "professional ban" (Berufsverbot) which had affected about 4,500 people by 1980.

An upsurge of the mass anti-war movement was a distinguishing feature of the political situation in the FRG in the 1980s. It was mounting especially because of the West German government's intention to have American intermediate-range nuclear missiles stationed on its territory. A forum of political and public figures in Krefeld on November 16, 1980 approved an Appeal calling on the government of the FRG to renounce its commitment to the NATO decision on rearming. There was a drive to collect signatures to the Krefeld Appeal: "Atomic War Threatens All of Us. No to Nuclear Missiles!" Over 5 million people had signed it by the end of 1983. All kinds of democratic and anti-militarist organisations joined the anti-war movement. Peace activists used a wide range of ways to protest against the NATO decision. Mass anti-war demonstrations, peace marches, collection of signatures to appeals and similar activities were often taking place. Peace activists blocked military installations, bases and nuclear and chemical warhead depots. Cities and communities all over the country were voting to declare themselves nuclear-free zones. The peace movement became a serious factor in West German political life.

In the 1980s, the FRG departed in a way from the pursuit of international detente. The Schmidt Government conducted a conflicting policy. While declaring itself to be committed to detente and to the previous relationship with the USSR, it was increasingly backing up the anti-detente course of the USA and NATO. Still greater support for the US foreign policy line was given by the Kohl Government, which saw American nuclear missiles actually installed in the FRG. It also supported US actions in the Middle and Near East and in Central America. A number of West German politicians spoke up for a revision of the post-war frontiers of Poland. The governing quarters of the FRG supported the American Star Wars plans. An appropriate agreement with the USA was signed in March 1986. The Kohl Government is actively involved in uniting the two Germanies.

At the same time, the FRG is advancing economic co-operation with the USSR. It still remains its principal partner among the advanced capitalist countries.

## § 5. Italy

*Italy after the Second World War.* The defeat of fascism undermined the political domination of the most reactionary sections of monopoly capital in Italy. The rule of Italian fascism was ended everywhere. However, the commanding heights in the national economy remained in the hands of industrial and financial magnates, the biggest landowners, princes and barons of the South.

The system of bourgeois political parties was restructured, giving prominence to the Christian Democratic Party (DC) founded in 1944. The DC established contact with the Vatican and succeeded in creating a base of support among the mass of the people. The big bourgeoisie and landowners saw it as the force to help them maintain their domination. Another party that was reconstituted in the Resistance Movement was the Liberal Party which rallied conservative bourgeois-landlord elements. There was also the Republican Party in post-war Italy, relying on some of the petty bourgeoisie.

Mass workers' parties: the Communist and Socialist parties as well as other organisations of working people, above all trade unions, entered the political stage. They all exercised a telling influence on the change-over from fascism to democracy. The Italian Communist Party (PCI), led by Palmiro Togliatti, had a membership of 1.7 million at the end of 1945. The PCI was pressing for fundamental social, economic and political reforms. Another major force wielding considerable influence on the working class and middle classes was the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) led by Pietro Nenni. The Party was also advocating deep-going social and political reforms. There was a 'Unity of Action' pact between the PCI and the PSI which added much to their weight in the nation's political life. Yet another left force was the Action Party relying on intellectuals and some sections of the middle classes. The Action Party supported the idea of "progressive democracy"

and joined the struggle to bring it about.  
the general picture of political forces operating in Italy in the immediate post-war years.

A new central government under Ferruccio Parri, distinguished veteran of the Resistance Movement, was formed by agreement of the anti-fascist parties on June 21, 1945. The government comprised Christian Democrats, Socialists and Communists. The Parri Government put through a number of measures in the interest of working people. But the bourgeois parties provoked a government crisis which led to a new coalition government, under Alcide de Gasperi (DC), being formed in December 1945.

Political parties were increasingly active in the runup to the elections for the Constituent Assembly. The most influential political forces called for Italy to be declared a republic. Along with the election of the Constituent Assembly on June 2, 1946, Italian voters took part in a referendum on the country's political structure. The elections were open to all, women participating for the first time. Twelve million seven hundred thousand people voted for a republic against 10.7 million who favoured the monarchy. Soon after the referendum, the Italian King, Umberto II left Italy. In the Constituent Assembly elections, the Communists polled 4.3 million votes, the Socialists, 4.7 million, and the Christian Democrats, 8 million. On June 13, 1946, the leader of the Christian Democrats, de Gasperi formed the first republican government which also comprised Socialists and Communists.

However, it was not long before the Christian Democrats set course for dividing the democratic coalition and driving the Communists out of the government. On May 31, 1947, after yet another government crisis, de Gasperi formed a government of Christian Democrats only. That amounted to a coup and set the scene for splitting up the democratic coalition.

The draft Constitution was finalised late in 1947 and endorsed by the Constituent Assembly on December 22. The Constitution came into effect on January 1, 1948. It declared Italy a "republic based on labour". The Constitution guaranteed the inviolability of private property and the freedom of private enterprise. By



and large, it was a major gain of democratic forces and opened up an opportunity, under the law, for working people to fight for a restriction of undivided monopoly rule and for social, economic and political reforms.

Elections for Italian Parliament on April 18, 1948 ended in a victory for the Christian Democratic Party which obtained 12.7 million votes and a majority of seats. Eight million voted for the candidates of the Popular Democratic Front (Communists and Socialists). Following the elections, a de Gasperi Government, consisting of Christian Democrats, Liberals and Republicans, was formed. Right-wing Socialists joined it a little later.

There was a mounting offensive of reactionary elements against the positions of the left forces. A neo-fascist party, the Italian Social Movement, sprang up and began to act openly back in 1947. In a climate of anti-communist hysteria, there was an assassination attempt on the PCI leader, Palmiro Togliatti, who was severely wounded on July 14, 1948. The workers reacted to it with a general political strike. The division of the working-class movement deepened. In July 1948, the Christian Democratic group left the Italian General Confederation of Labour (CGIL) and formed its own trade union centre which came to be known in 1950 as the Italian Confederation of Workers' Unions (CISL). The unions which were under the influence of right-wing Socialists also left the CGIL shortly afterwards.

In spite of the reactionary offensive and the split of workers' organisations, Italy's working people went on fighting for their vital interests, for peace and democracy. One form of industrial action was the occupation of enterprises which the authorities and employers intended to close down. While working on under the direction of factory management boards, the workers pressed for their factories to be modernised. There was a mounting movement in the countryside for a democratic agrarian reform. Peasants took over and ploughed up the idle land of deserted landowner estates.

Italy's foreign policy was taking shape as the rule of the monopoly establishment was strengthened. The Allies signed a peace treaty with Italy on February 10, 1947. It was of a relatively democratic and fair kind

due largely to the efforts of the Soviet Union. In 1948, Italy acceded to the Marshall Plan and in April 1949 she joined the North Atlantic bloc. The 6th US Fleet obtained port facilities in Naples, Livorno, Toron- to and Augusta. A mass peace movement emerged in Italy in view of the growing war danger. Over 17 million Italians put their signatures to the Stockholm Appeal for a ban on atomic weapons and 16 million, to the Address of the World Peace Council for a Great Power Peace Pact.

*The Battle of the Forces of Reaction and Democracy in Italy in the 1950s and the 1960s.* There was a favourable economic situation in Italy in the early 1950s. The nation's industrial production had regained its pre-war level. The annual growth rate of production in the 1950s came up to 10 per cent. New industries—electronics, petrochemistry, engineering and the motor industry—were advancing by leaps and bounds. Italy was developing from an agrarian-industrial into an industrial-agrarian country. An industrial boom began in 1959. The industrial output increase in 1960 was 15.2 per cent, but afterwards economic growth rates slowed down. There was an economic recession in 1964-1965.

By the late 1950s, the Italian economy had achieved relative self-sufficiency. Italian capital had made its way into the wide world—Asia, Africa and Latin America. Italy had amassed big gold and foreign exchange reserves. At the same time, American, Swiss and British monopolies captured strong positions in her economy. Italian capital was being involved in the process of merger with the biggest transnational corporations.

The 1950s and 1960s saw a close confrontation developing between the DC-led government bloc and the bloc of left forces (Communists and Socialists). The leaders of the Christian Democrats kept up their offensive against the vital interests of working people and democracy. In the early 1950s, police cruelly dealt with workers and peasants in action for their rights. Late in 1952, the Government of Christian Democrats came up with a draft electoral law designed to strengthen their power and weaken the opposition. Communists and Socialists launched a wide-scale campaign of protest

against that Bill both in and outside Parliament. There was a general political strike on March 30, 1953. In the long run, working people frustrated the attempt of reactionary elements to change electoral legislation. De Gasperi resigned on August 2, 1953 and left the political scene.

The "centre" policy turned out to be in crisis. Supporters of the left-of-centre bloc (Gronchi and Fanfani), who had strengthened their positions within the Christian Democratic Party, called for Socialists and other left forces, except Communists, to be drawn into the government coalition. The political crisis sharpened in the late 1950s. Government succeeded government at frequent intervals. A lasting instability of relationship developed between the major opposing political forces. In those circumstances, Italy's ruling establishment ventured to create a left-of-centre parliamentary coalition. The leadership of the Socialist Party, who had departed from the idea of unity with Communists, agreed in the early 1960s to team up with the Christian Democrats. On February 21, 1962, Amintore Fanfani of the moderate DC wing formed the first left-of-centre government composed of Christian Democrats, Republicans and Social Democrats. Socialists backed the government without entering it. The Fanfani Government promulgated an Act to nationalise (by buying up) electric-power enterprises. Minimum pension rates as well as wages and salaries for some working-people categories were raised. The government of Aldo Moro (DC), formed in December 1963, included representatives of the PSI—Pietro Nenni and Renato Lombardi—for the first time. The election of the leader of the Social Democrats, Giuseppe Saragat, as the President of the nation on December 28, 1964 attested to a consolidation of the left centre.

The working class and other sections of working people were fighting hard for their vital interests, for peace and democracy. Workers succeeded in preventing the closure of a number of enterprises and winning higher wages, improved terms of collective bargain agreements, increased family allowances, social insurance for working women, and a sliding wage scale. At the same time, Communists and other left parties demand-

ed the nationalisation of electric-power monopolies and chemical industry and the introduction of democratic economic planning.

In the early 1960s, the democratic forces of Italy rose against the neo-fascist movement. The workers of Genoa staged a six-hour political strike and a demonstration on June 30, 1960, to protest against the intention of the neo-fascist party to hold its congress in that city. This anti-fascist action involved close on 100,000 people. There were clashes with police as the demonstration went on. Forty workers and 162 police were wounded. The authorities brought tanks into the city. A general national strike took place in Italy on the following day in token of solidarity with the Genoa anti-fascists. There were demonstrations in Licate, Reggio Emilia, Palermo and Catania early in July. All of the country's major centres were in the grip of political strikes on July 7. The demonstrations involved 2 million people who came forward with the slogans: "Away with Fascists!" and "Down with the Government!". Yet another general political strike occurred on July 8, in response to a call from trade unions and anti-fascist parties. The Communist Party and other democratic parties spoke up in Parliament for the Tambroni Government to resign. Meetings and demonstrations were once more organised throughout the nation on July 18 in support of that demand. On the following day, the Tambroni Government resigned. That was a great victory for the working class and for all anti-fascist forces.

In the course of the struggle, Communists and other left forces pressed for deep-going structural reforms. There was a sweeping drive for regional autonomy within the provisions of the Constitution. In February 1968, Parliament passed an Act to create regional councils and local government bodies which received considerable rights in the political, social, economic, legislative and administrative areas. Elections for regional councils were held on June 7-8, 1970, with Communists polling 27.9 per cent of the total vote. Left forces came to lead regional authorities in areas with a population of 8,000,000 (Toscana, Umbria and Emilia-Romagna, among others).

Working people were mounting grass-root action all

over Italy for a change-over from the Cold War to a policy of peaceful coexistence of states. They staged mammoth demonstrations of solidarity with revolutionary Cuba in 1962. The Communist Party and other peace forces condemned the Israeli aggression against Arab States. They came out against the arms race, particularly, the nuclear arms race. In November 1967, peace activists staged a March for Peace and Freedom in Vietnam, involving thousands of people. In 1968, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Amintore Fanfani, spoke up for a peaceful settlement in Vietnam. The youth and, particularly,

The youth and, particularly, the student movement gathered momentum in the 1960s. Students staged their strikes, "occupied" universities and petitioned the authorities. They were active in opposing fascist-like elements. The student movement was developing an anti-monopoly and anti-capitalist character.

At the same time, some youth and declassed elements formed ultra-leftist groups. Armed groups of "left" extremists (Red Brigades, Patriotic Action squads, etc.) started terrorist activity in the late 1960s. They comprised pro-fascist elements.

The terrorist activities of neo-fascist groups assumed a dangerous character. On December 12, 1969, neo-fascists set off bombs in Rome and Milan, causing numerous casualties. Prince Valerio Borghese created National Front, an armed organisation, late in 1968, and came up with a plan to seize power in December 1970.

Italy's foreign policy in the 1950s and 1960s was determined by her membership of the North Atlantic bloc. In January 1950, Italy and the USA signed a Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement. A certain change of trend developed in Italy's foreign policy late in the 1950s. She was anxious not only to play a more independent part but also enlarge the scope of the relationship with other countries, notably with the USSR and other nations of the socialist community. Agreements on co-operation in various areas between Italy and the USSR were signed in the 1960s. FIAT was involved, under a 1966 agreement, in the construction of the Volga Autoworks in Togliatti. Agreement was achieved about deliveries of natural gas to Italy from the USSR.

*Italy in the Period of International Detente.* Italy's high economic growth rates of the 1950s and 1960s put her in the forefront of advanced capitalist countries. Italy ranked fourth in Western Europe and sixth in the entire capitalist world in industrial production. Yet the nation's industrial growth began to slow down in the 1970s. In 1974-1975, the Italian economy found itself in crisis: industrial production fell off by 10 per cent. An economic upturn set in from the autumn of 1975. The latter half of the 1970s witnessed unstable economic development.

The government strove to step up economic activity through greater public spending. Indirect taxes rose at the same time. In an effort to restrain mounting inflation, the government brought pressure to bear on trade unions to check the growth of wages. But it failed to achieve an appreciable improvement of the nation's economic performance.

The growing complexity of economic problems sharpened the confrontation between right, centre and left parties and organisations. In the 1970s, the Christian Democratic Party still had its preponderant say in national political life. However, the growing influence of the forces which opposed it, above all the PCI, made the position of the DC-led governments unstable and led to them being replaced at frequent intervals.

Elections and referenda of the 1970s passed off in the context of close confrontation of social and political forces. In 1974, a large proportion of the electorate involved in the referendum went on record, in defiance of the position of the DC and Vatican leaders, against the repeal of a divorce facilitating Act.

But it was in the local government elections of June 15, 1975, that the DC positions were undermined most. Left parties found themselves in control of 6 regions out of the 20, and of nearly all major cities. Communists were elected mayors in Rome, Turin, Naples, Florence, Bologna, Modena, Livorno and a number of other cities. Important reforms were carried through due to pressure from the left parties. A democratic Act introducing regional self-government throughout national territory was passed in 1970, after 20 years of struggle.

A further leftward shift occurred in the mid-1970s. The balance of forces in Parliament made it no longer possible to ignore the position of the PCI. In those circumstances, the Communists adopted flexible tactics while not totally approving the particular statements or proposals of the government, they avoided creating a situation of a permanent political crisis and abstained during the vote of confidence motions. At the same time, the PCI launched large-scale campaigns of pressure on the government, notably, in favour of a new economic policy.

In 1977, the Italian government had to have Parliament pass a number of Acts demanded by the left forces: on vocational training and youth employment; the transfer of some of the powers of the state to local government bodies; democratic changes in the Armed Forces, a provision permitting the servicemen to engage in political activities. Legislation was approved to streamline the housing rent.

Neo-fascists and extremist forces were fiercely opposing the agreed, if compromise, action of the parliamentary majority parties and wanted to break the united action of those parties by whatever means they could. They intensified their subversive and terrorist activities to that end. There were more bombing attacks, killing, and acts of violence against activists and headquarters of left parties from late 1976 on. In February and March 1977, extremists provoked student disturbances, involving terrorist acts, in a number of cities. Reactionary elements took advantage of those disturbances to try and discredit the left municipalities. The DC Chairman, Aldo Moro, was kidnapped by Red Brigades in the spring of 1978. On May 9, Moro was murdered by his captors, which intensified the anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign and caused a rift in the parliamentary majority. Late in January 1979, the PCI declared that it was withdrawing from the parliamentary majority. Political instability was growing.

Leftward shifts in Italy were brought about, above all, by the struggle of all democratic forces for far-reaching socio-economic and democratic change and for a policy of international detente. In the 1970s, the

struggle of the Italian proletariat intensified. Working people got Parliament to pass an Act, in 1970, on a statute of working people's rights at enterprises, which strictly regulated the procedure of employment and dismissal and established extensive rights for trade union activity at enterprises.

Trade union unity gained in strength as the struggle went on. In 1972, representatives of the three trade union centres, CGIL, CISL and UIL, agreed to set up a federation to act on their behalf in major issues. Trade unions worked out a programme of fighting for a reform of housing construction, the health system, measures for the advancement of Southern Italy, the education system, transport, and taxation. In support of their demands, trade unions staged strikes and other mass action. Late in 1976, Parliament approved an Act on the equality of men and women on the labour market.

Mass action continued throughout the subsequent years. It was increasingly political as the national situation strained. Millions of people were involved in demonstrations of protest at the kidnapping and assassination of Aldo Moro in March through May 1978.

Large sections of the Italian population were not indifferent to international developments. Following the government's consent to the NATO rearming decisions and the deployment of American nuclear missiles in Western Europe, including the territory of Italy, the nation's peace forces reacted with demonstrations of protest, demanding the continuation of the policy of easing international tension.

In the 1970s, Italy was as active as ever in NATO and the EEC and broadened her co-operation with the USA and other capitalist states. Even though the left parties had exercised a great influence on the nation's foreign policy in the latter half of the 1970s, Italy went along in 1978 with a programme for building up the military expenditure of the NATO countries. An Italian-American agreement on military co-operation for a term of 20 years was signed in September of the same year. At the NATO ministerial session in Brussels in December 1979, Italy backed up the decision about the deployment of American inter-



mediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. At the same time, Italy made a certain contribution towards relieving international tension. She participated in the Helsinki Conference. Italy's mutually beneficial co-operation with the USSR and other socialist countries was broadened considerably.

*Italy in the 1980s.* Crisis trend which developed in the latter half of 1980 continued into 1983. The situation was compounded by an intense earthquake in the southern regions in the autumn of 1980. Thousands of people lost their lives; extensive damage was done to many enterprises and to the housing stock.

The Italian government tried to redress the nation's economic balance. As early as October 1979, it began to put through anti-inflation measures ("dear money" policy). Measures were taken to check a foreign trade deficit and impose credit and import restrictions. Subsequently, the government moved to control prices, freeze wages and cut social spending. But all that proved to be of little effect and to have an adverse impact on the condition of working people. The government reduced appropriations for the pensions scheme, family allowances, public health and education. New taxes were introduced and food prices increased, and so were the rent, transport fares, electricity, telephone, petrol, gas, and health-care charges.

The domestic political situation in the 1980s was unstable. There was no sustained majority either in the nation in general or in Parliament in particular. The DC's monopoly position in political life was undercut by the growing influence of the Communist and Socialist parties. However, it was difficult to end DC monopoly and create a left majority because of the obstruction of right-wing PSI leaders who preferred to team up with the Christian Democrats, acting from anti-communist positions.

The frequent change of Cabinets was a pointer to political instability. There was a major political scandal in Italy in May 1981, following the exposure of the subversive activities of a secret Masonic lodge "Propaganda Due" (P-2). The lodge comprised prominent personalities from the DC and other governing parties, prominent army and security officials. In the wake

of the scandal, it was a Republican, Giovanni Spadolini, who was called upon to form the next Cabinet. So for the first time in 35 years, the Christian Democrats yielded the post of Prime Minister. A coalition government headed by Bettino Craxi, PSI leader, was formed in 1983.

It was not only the frequent change of cabinets that demonstrated national instability. There was no subsiding of the wave of terrorist acts in the 1980s, committed by leftist groups of hotheads as well as by neo-fascists. There was a bomb explosion at the Bologna railway station on August 2, 1980, leaving 84 people dead and about 200 gravely wounded.

Economic and political instability was compounded by deepening social conflicts. The strike movement mounted. On January 15, 1980, 14 million factory and farm workers participated in an anti-government general strike. The working people were adamant in opposing government moves to strike at the sliding wage scale. Many strikes and demonstrations erupted in protest at the employers' refusal to negotiate new collective bargaining agreements as well as against the contraction of job vacancies in industry. In consequence, trade unions compelled a partial maintenance of the sliding wage scale and the employers' consent to conclude new collective agreements.

Large sections of the Italian people were up to uphold their democratic rights and freedoms. Referenda on a number of issues affecting the people's democratic rights were held in May 1982. Most of the electorate rejected the proposed Bill against maternity rights.

The anti-war movement surged a stage ahead in the face of heightened international tension. Demonstrations of peace activists protesting against the construction of a base for American intermediate-range nuclear missiles took place in Genoa, Reggio-Emilia, Modena and other cities. Activists of the anti-missile movement staged peace marches involving thousands of people in Rome, Lombardy, Comiso and elsewhere.

The instability of the social and political situation told on the country's foreign policy, making it somewhat dual. Italy gave her consent to the installation of American intermediate-range nuclear missiles on her territo-

ry. In 1986, the government permitted Italian firms to participate in the US Strategic Defence Initiative programme.

The duality of Italy's foreign policy made itself particularly manifest in her relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. The Italian government declared a boycott of the Moscow Olympics-1980, dragged out the solution of the issue regarding the new credit agreements with the USSR and cut off economic aid to Poland, following the introduction of the state of emergency there. Italo-Bulgarian relations drastically worsened because of the so-called "Antonov case". In December 1982, Italian authorities arrested the Bulgarian citizen, Sergei Antonov, who had been working for the Balkan Airways in Rome, on a trumped-up charge. Without any evidence whatsoever, he had been accused of complicity in the assassination attempt on the Pope. A trial began in Rome in 1985. For lack of proof, Sergei Antonov was released from custody and left for home.

In the meantime, Italy continued to develop her economic as well as scientific and technological co-operation with the USSR and a number of other socialist countries. In this connection, of great importance was the 1989 visit to Italy of Mikhail Gorbachev.

## § 6. Austria

It was the victory over fascism that made it possible to re-establish the statehood of Austria and enabled her to be reborn as a democratic country. A provisional government was formed of representatives of the Socialist, Austrian People's, and Communist parties and non-party politicians on April 27, 1945. It was headed by Karl Renner, a prominent leader of Austrian Social Democracy. The provisional government issued a Declaration on Neutrality. The government likewise adopted a number of progressive laws.

In July 1945, the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and France signed an accord on a quadripartite control arrangement in Austria, occupation zones and the administration of Vienna. The Four-Power Control Council

for Austria created at the same time defined the principles of occupation policy. These provided for Austria to be restored as an independent and democratic state committed to peace.

The parliamentary elections of November 25, 1945, left nearly half the seats in the hands of the Austrian People's Party. On July 26, 1946, and March 26, 1947, the Parliament passed legislation to nationalise three major commercial banks and 33 stock companies. In July 1948, the Austrian government joined the Marshall Plan whereby the USA expected to draw Austria into the orbit of its policy.

The hard material conditions of working people, rising unemployment and discontent with the policy of the ruling establishment stimulated a series of actions both for economic interests and for peace and democracy. Workers of 90 major enterprises put forward their demands for higher wages in August and September 1950. Close on 400,000 workers went on strike on September 25. Police were brought into action against them. The rising of workers in September and October 1950, was one of the biggest after the February clashes of 1934. In subsequent years, the workers' strike struggles continued, if less active. At the same time, Austria's progressive forces were increasingly involved in the peace movement. The 1st All-Austria Peace Congress met in Vienna in June 1950. The Congress of Peoples for Peace, in December 1952, was a major event.

A State Treaty on the Re-establishment of an Independent and Democratic Austria was signed on May 15, 1955. The treaty ended the country's occupation and assured its security and national independence and forbade economic and political Anschluss. In September 1955, the four Great Powers removed their occupation forces from Austria and in October 1955, the Austrian Parliament approved a Federal Constitutional Law of Perpetual Austrian Neutrality. The status of Austria's neutrality was officially recognised by the Four Powers. On December 14, 1955, Austria joined the United Nations Organisation. The signing of the State Treaty along with proclaiming Austria's neutrality were matters of great international import and contributed towards easing tension in Europe and the world. That turned a new

leaf in the history of Austria as an independent, neutral and democratic state.

Following the conclusion of the State Treaty, the country's economic development was in the ascendant. Austria became an advanced industrial-agrarian nation.

In the political life of Austria there was a struggle going on between the right conservative forces displeased with the State Treaty, particularly with Austria's neutrality status, and democratic forces which insisted on Austria consistently abiding by the commitments she had assumed. Relations within the government coalition deteriorated in the late 1950s. In 1966, the leaders of the Austrian People's Party created a one-party government. That ended the government coalition of the Austrian People's Party and the Socialist Party of Austria which had existed for twenty years. In domestic policy, the APP government worked for consolidating the positions of private capital and sought to denationalise state enterprises.

In the early half of the 1970s, the country's economic growth proceeded at a fairly high pace. But an economic crisis hit Austria, too, in 1974-1975. The political situation changed. A one-party socialist government came to power in Austria for the first time, following the 1970 elections. In domestic policy, the SPA government tried, though in vain, to arrest the rise of taxes and prices of consumer goods and services.

In foreign policy, Austria was forging a closer relationship with the EEC countries. She came to terms with them on a progressive mutual abolition of customs duties and restrictions on trade in many commodities as from January 1, 1973. But at the same time she was promoting relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. The positions of Austria and the USSR proved identical on a number of important international issues. Austria established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and broadened economic co-operation with Hungary and Czechoslovakia. She took part in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in 1975. The Kreisky Gov-

ernment took up a realistic stand on matters concerning Middle East settlement.

In the early 1980s, Austria's economic development stagnated. In political life, there was continued rivalry between the SPA and the APP. The political situation strained in the mid-1980s. It reflected the growing social and economic difficulties (mounting unemployment, rising prices and attempted reprivatization of enterprises of the public sector). Elections of the Federal President in July 1986 were a close combat. Kurt Waldheim was elected President. Franz Vranitzky of the SPA became Federal Chancellor.

In foreign policy, Austria remained committed to her neutrality line. She occupied a constructive position at the international meetings in Madrid and Stockholm. The situation of international tension changed nothing about good-neighbourly and business relations between Austria and the countries of the socialist community.

## § 7. Greece

The war and the occupation of Greece by German fascists left a trail of hard misfortune. Industry and agriculture were in decline. Large sections of the population were impoverished and starving. The political situation turned out to be rather involved. The extreme right-wing parties created a "Black Front" bloc, which was joined by the supporters of the monarchy. Side by side with them, there were centre parties which looked to foreign business for guidance. The left comprised the National Liberation Front (EAM) and its National Popular Liberation Army (ELAS), with the Communist Party of Greece (400,000 members at the end of the war) as their leading force. Another group that stood by the left was the Agrarian Party (250,000 members early in 1946), which had the poorest peasantry as its backbone. In May 1944, the leadership of the National Liberation Front agreed to the formation of a government of "national unity" involving émigré elements and placed the ELAS under British command. British forces arrived in Greece as it was virtually liberated from fascist invaders on October 4,

1944. Soon afterwards, the British Command ordered the ELAS units to be disarmed. By trickery, the Greek government and the British command secured consent to the demobilisation and disarmament of the ELAS forces. The government's inability to cope with the hard economic situation as well as its policy of repression of anti-fascists had angered the masses. There was a national poll on September 1, 1946, which brought George II back to the throne (on April 1, 1947, King George died and the reign passed to his brother, Paul).

A virtual civil war began in 1946. In October 1946, the guerrilla forces, led by Markos Vafiades, one of the ELAS commanders, joined to form a National Democratic Army (DAG). Then, the Government of Greece decided to rely on the US which was increasingly interfering in the country's affairs. Guidance of combat operations against the National Democratic Army was now in American hands. In December 1947, the Communist Party and other democratic organisations were outlawed.

Institutions of people's power were set up in the liberated areas while the armed struggle was still going on, elections for people's committees were held and landed estates were turned over to landless or land-poor peasants. A Communist-dominated Provisional Democratic Government of Greece, headed by General Vafiades, was formed on December 23, 1947. However, in the nation, it was the reactionary element that predominated. Late in August 1949, the DAG contingents sustained a defeat in the Gramos area and their remnants left Greece.

The civil war further exacerbated the economic situation, hard as it was. In spite of their defeat in the Civil War, democratic forces kept on fighting those of reaction. Strike struggles flared up. The workers pressed for higher wages, improved social security and for unemployment relief. Economic demands entailed some political ones as well: for a general amnesty, restoration of democratic and social freedoms, and abrogation of emergency laws. There was a mounting struggle for peace and national sovereignty.

In political life, there was a close battle going on between the forces of reaction and democracy. A United

Democratic Left Party (EDA), grouping Communists, Socialists and Left Democrats, was created in 1951. The reactionary forces and parties were consolidating themselves, too. In 1951, reactionary forces created a monarchist party, the National Rally, under General Alexandros Papagos, which was in power from September 1952 to early 1956. That party strove to establish a police state. In 1948, Greece joined the Marshall Plan, and in February 1952, she joined the North Atlantic bloc. A Greek American military agreement was signed on October 12, 1953, placing the nation's territory, means of communication, ports, airfields and the armed forces under US control. An American economic mission arrived in Greece.

A government, headed by the leader of the National Rally, Constantine Karamanlis, was formed in the autumn of 1955, following the death of Marshal Papagos. Karamanlis stayed in power until 1963. His Cabinet pursued a policy of suppressing democratic forces. Under the treaties concluded with foreign companies, Greece granted them extensive rights to exploit its natural resources. The country was going through a process of militarisation.

Emergency regulations and anti-democratic laws remained in force for a long time, which had the effect of drastically exacerbating social contradictions. The condition of the working masses remained extremely hard. The Greek proletariat never gave up its fight for its vital interests. Dockers, railwaymen and workers of bakeries and utility services went on strike in the 1950s. A large-scale movement was gaining ground for the release of political prisoners, for a general political amnesty, and for peace. Peace activists called for Greece to leave NATO.

Reactionary forces intensified the reign of terror against progressive personalities in order to defeat the democratic movement. Gregory Lambrakis, a prominent fighter for peace and democracy, MP and Vice-President of the Greek Peace Committee, was killed on May 22, 1963. That assassination incensed the Greek people. Over half a million turned out in the capital alone for a demonstration of protest during the funeral of Lambrakis.



The outburst of mass indignation over the action of reactionary elements caused the Karamanlis Government to fall. Georgios Papandreou, the leader of the Democratic Centre Union, headed the Greek government in 1963-1965. Papandreou carried through progressive measures directed towards democratising the country's social, political and economic life. A large proportion of political prisoners were set free, the arbitrary practices of the police force were restricted, and a Bill to repeal some emergency laws and measures was drawn up. In foreign affairs, the government spoke up for Greece to be an equal ally, rather than a satellite, within the framework of general NATO policy. Relations with socialist countries were normalised. Co-operation between Balkan states was being advanced.

Reactionary forces sought to wreck democratic moves and set out to plot a coup. They forced Georgios Papandreou to step down in 1965. And on April 21, 1967, reactionary brass hats seized power, with the Black Colonels heading the new government. A number of articles of the 1952 Constitution were suspended, emergency military tribunals were set up, the activities of political parties and democratic trade unions as well as meetings and strikes were banned, and press, radio and television censorship was introduced. Many members of the Communist Party and the EDA were arrested and confined to jails and concentration camps. Military authorities also arrested a group of top leaders of the Centre Union and banned all youth and student organisations. A purge of the Civil Service and the Army ensued.

The military junta put Greece into a state of still greater dependence on foreign, above all American, capital. The government gave its support to the American war in Vietnam and even proposed to dispatch Greek soldiers there. Crete was turned into a NATO missile base.

Under the military dictatorship, Greece found itself on the verge of economic and political catastrophe. The working class and democratic forces, in spite of tremendous difficulties, united to fight the junta. The Communist Party succeeded in rallying together all anti-dictatorship forces. A Patriotic Front, comprising the

CPG, EDA and other democratic organisations, was created in May 1967.

The anti-dictatorship movement was gaining ground as the crisis of the reactionary regime deepened. Student unrest began in Athens in November 1974. The authorities replied by disbanding student associations and restoring emergency decrees. To strengthen its position, the military dictatorship resorted to an adventure outside the military dictatorship. A coup was staged with its co-operation in Cyprus and President Makarios was overthrown. That adventure of the Greek military contributed towards dividing that island state. Democratic forces rose against the military junta.

The people's resistance, opposition in the army and the international isolation of the junta forced it out of power. The former Prime Minister, now leader of the ERE Party, Karamanlis, formed a civilian government which carried through some measures somewhat defusing the situation. There was an amnesty under government decrees, which also provided for the relegalisation of the parties, including the CPG, and for the Army, police, security forces and the Civil Service to be purged of supporters of the dictatorship. Greece declared itself to be in solidarity with the Republic of Cyprus, announced withdrawal from the military organisation of NATO and called for a revision of its military accords with the US. Some concessions were made to working people. Certain categories had their wages and salaries increased. Greece went ahead with establishing economic links with socialist countries.

A referendum on the political structure was held on December 8, 1974. The majority of the electorate (69 per cent) voted for a republican form of government. Late in 1974, the government published a draft new Constitution declaring Greece a presidential parliamentary republic.

In 1980 there was a slump of industrial production escalating into an economic crisis which went on until 1983. The crisis aggravated the social and political situation. The working class and democratic movement intensified. Discontent with the home and foreign policies of the New Democracy Government led to an acute political crisis and caused the ruling party's prestige

to fall. The elections of October 18, 1981 ended in the defeat of the New Democracy and a victory of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) formed by Andreas Papandreou (the son of Georgios Papandreou). Communists gained a success, too, polling 10.92 per cent of the votes. The elections attested to a substantial leftward shift in the political life of Greece.

The new government, headed by Andreas Papandreou, recognised the National Resistance, including the ELAS, and drafted a number of democratic Bills. Political émigrés had their civil rights restored and were accorded an opportunity to return home.

In foreign affairs, Greece continued drawing closer to the EEC which she joined on January 1, 1981. With the PASOK in power, there occurred certain changes in the nation's foreign policy. The Papandreou Government urged a revision of Greece's membership of the military organisation of NATO and of the EEC, the closing down of American bases on Greek territory, the removal of American nuclear weapons, no more deployment of US missiles in Western Europe, the ending of the arms race and mutually beneficial co-operation with all countries. Greece dissociated itself from the NATO sanctions against Poland and spoke up for a zone of peace, free from nuclear weapons, in the Balkans and a zone of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean. Papandreou declared it necessary to find an equitable solution to the Cyprus issue, with accent on its internationalisation.

Relations of Greece with the USSR and other socialist countries continued to develop.

In 1989, the PASOK lost the national elections as a result of a political crisis. In 1990, Karamanlis was elected President.

## § 8. Spain

The economic situation of Spain was hard after the end of the war. The Franco regime was a drag on the country's development. It continued a policy of repression against its political opponents. In December 1946, a session of the UN General Assembly passed

a resolution calling on the UN member countries to recall their ambassadors from Spain and keep her out of the UN because of executions of the opponents of the fascist regime in Spain. After most of the foreign ambassadors had left Spain, the international political isolation of the Franco regime went on compounding the situation at home. Only in the early 1950s did Spain's economy regain its 1935 level.

However, faced by a general upsurge of the democratic movement in the world, the Franco regime launched a so-called policy of national liberalisation. A Spaniards' Charter was proclaimed on July 17, 1945. It was something like a fundamental law regarding the rights and responsibilities of citizens. Another demonstration exercise in the sense of "liberalisation" was to bring a representative of the right wing of the Catholic Action organisation, Martin Artajo, who became Minister of Foreign Affairs, into the Spanish Falange (official fascist party). Those exercises changed little, as a matter of fact. To reinforce his position, Franco called a referendum on July 6, 1947 on the proclamation of a monarchy in Spain. Most of the votes in the referendum were cast for a monarchy. Many Spaniards hoped that they would get rid of the fascist dictatorship in that way. A Law of Succession to the post of Head of State was adopted on June 26, 1947, which declared Spain a kingdom. Franco was to retain the post of Head of State for life. A Regency Council was set up to take over the reins of power upon Franco's death.

The working-class and guerrilla movement gained ground. Workers went on strike in Madrid, Bilbao, Catalonia and elsewhere. Guerrilla forces carried out close on 5,000 combat operations in 1945-1949. The guerrilla movement came to an end essentially by 1950.

The Western powers were increasingly soft on Spain. Diplomats of capitalist countries returned to Madrid in 1949. This meant that the Western powers had, as a matter of fact, reconciled themselves to the Franco regime.

Spain's economic development proceeded at a faster pace in the 1950s. The Franco top-level group kept up a semblance of political "liberalisation". The Francists set much store by consolidating their links with the

Catholic Church. On August 27, 1953, Spain concluded a Concordat with the Vatican legally formalising the great privileges of the Catholic Church at home. In February 1957, many Falangists were replaced in government by representatives of the Army and members of Opus Dei ("God's Cause")—a semi-clandestine rightist secular Catholic organisation connected with the scientific community and technical staffs and the top administrative personnel. A campaign for a "class peace" got under way. The term "falange" was consigned to oblivion and went out of use. In 1959, the remains of the dead fascist rebels and Republicans were carried over into the Valley of the Fallen. All that was to epitomise a kind of "national reconciliation". Yet the essence of the Franco regime remained unchanged.

In foreign affairs, Spain strove to get out of international isolation. An agreement on defence, economic aid and mutual security safeguards was signed by the US and Spain on September 26, 1953. The US obtained the right to build bases and other installations on the territory of Spain and to bring over its military and civilian personnel. Late in 1955, Spain was admitted to the UN. She extended her links with other NATO countries.

The growing instability of the Franco regime was largely connected with the mounting working-class and democratic movement and growing opposition to the official authorities. Since the latter half of the 1950s, strikes became a permanent factor in the nation's life. From 1958 on, the Franquists agreed to the imposition of a system of collective agreements in relations between workers and employers. Workers' commissions began to appear in the late 1950s, being created by working people outside the official trade unions.

The intensified working-class movement stimulated the growth of the anti-Franco opposition. Representatives of various population groups, including the Catholic Church, were taking up anti-Franco positions. So were peace activists who protested against Spain's military alliance with the US and against American military bases on national territory. Statements of criticism of the Franco regime were made by eminent churchmen, writers, poets and philosophers.

High growth rates of industrial production were kept up in the 1960s. By the late 1960s, Spain had turned into an industrial-agrarian country, albeit with wide imbalances still surviving in the industrial development of individual regions.

Anti-Franco action was taking on larger proportions. The advocates of "liberalisation" were moving into higher gear. They secured absolution from responsibility for actions during the civil war. There were partial amnesties of political prisoners. Censorship was somewhat relaxed. A New Organic Law was adopted in November 1966, and came into force in January 1967 after a referendum. It provided for some of the Deputies to the Cortes (108 out of the 564) to be elected. The remainder were still appointed by the head of state, upon recommendations from official organisations. The law stipulated that a Spaniard and Catholic over 30 might become King or Regent. On July 23, 1969, Franco appointed Prince Juan Carlos de Bourbon, grandson of the last Spanish King, to be the future King of Spain.

In foreign affairs, Spain went on seeking a closer relationship with the US and other NATO countries. The Spanish-American military pact was extended by five years in 1963. Under an agreement with the US, concluded in August 1970, Spain received 400 million dollars' worth of military and economic aid and credits. The US military bases in Spain remained. Spain's links with the countries of Latin America and the Middle East increased. In 1963, Spain established economic relations with Cuba. During the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, the Spanish government came out in support of Arab countries. Trading relations between Spain and European socialist countries (Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia) began to develop in the latter half of the 1960s. The first trade contacts were established with the USSR.

The crisis of the Franco regime was coming into the open in the early 1970s. There was a continued process of growth and consolidation of the anti-Franco opposition. The Communist Party urged all the opponents of Franquism to unite irrespective of the positions they had held before. An agreement of opposition organisations was reached in October 1975 on a joint struggle

against the dictatorship. Franco's death late in November 1975, coincided with a determined opposition offensive against the regime. Upon Franco's death, Prince Juan Carlos was proclaimed the Spanish King.

A process of dismantling the Franco regime began, first slowly and then more and more dynamically. Anti-Franquists were let out of prisons. Repression for political activities and involvement in strike action was eased. An amnesty was declared late in July 1976.

Parties which were in opposition to Franquism were being legalised, as was the Communist Party of Spain on April 9, 1977. Other Left organisations of Spain were also operating legally. The fascist National Movement party was disbanded by a royal decree.

The first parliamentary elections since the days of the Popular Front were held on June 15, 1977. Over 90 per cent of the electorate spoke out against Franquism. Provisional autonomy was granted to Catalonia, the Basque Country, Galicia and a number of other regions in 1977-1978. The adoption of the new Constitution, declaring Spain a parliamentary monarchy, on October 31, 1978, was a major event in national political life.

With the crisis of the Franco regime growing, there were changing trends in Spain's foreign policy. Of course, she remained committed to an alliance with the US and Western Europe. But at the same time, she was increasingly active in promoting her relationship with the socialist countries. Spain and the USSR established diplomatic relations on February 9, 1977.

Spain's economic growth in the early 1980s was rather slow. The national political situation was sensitive to social and economic difficulties, regional autonomy problems and political terrorism. Statutes of the permanent autonomy of the Basque Country and Catalonia came into effect in January 1980. Similar legislation for Galicia and Andalucia was passed in 1981. There were intensified attacks on the government in face of the difficulties of an economic and political order. Civil guards, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Antonio Tejero Molina, wanted to stage a coup on February 23, 1981. However, most of the garrisons did not support the rebels and Tejero Molina gave himself up to the authorities.

There was a mounting tide of political terrorism. On May 23, 1981, a group of extremists seized the building of the Central Bank in Barcelona, taking over 200 people hostage. The raiders demanded the release of the main protagonists of the February 23 rebellion. However, police forces succeeded in neutralising the terrorists.

In 1982, Spain joined NATO. A socialist government, headed by Felipe González, leader of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE), was formed in October 1982. González and his Cabinet turned their attention to putting the economy on a healthier foundation. Certain measures to meet the interests of working people were carried out in the social field. These comprised introducing a 40-hour working week, lowering the official retirement age to 64, and raising social security payments. The right to strike was established by law.

Under the socialist government, Spain claimed a greater role in the cause of peace, detente and disarmament. At the same time, the socialists decided to keep Spain in NATO. In a national referendum on March 12, 1986, 52.5 per cent of the electorate went on record for Spain's membership of NATO (with no affiliation to the bloc's military organisation). The socialists pressed on for Spain to be admitted to the Common Market. In 1985, EEC countries signed an agreement with Spain, admitting her to the European Economic Community, which she officially joined on January 1, 1986. Further headway was made under socialist government in Spain's relationship with the USSR and other socialist countries.

## § 9. Portugal

After the end of the Second World War, Portugal remained a fascist state under dictator Salazar. It was still one of the most backward European countries. The penetration of foreign capital in it increased. The material condition of the majority of the Portuguese remained hard. Poverty and unemployment forced many of them to emigrate.

The upsurge of the democratic movement all over the world, aggravation of social contradictions and the deep-



ening crisis of the fascist regime led to a intensification of the working-class and anti-fascist movement. The working class, with the Portuguese Communist Party at the head of it, was in the forefront of the struggle against the Salazar dictatorship. In that context, the authorities undertook a series of moves in a bid to break up and wear out the anti-fascist forces. In September 1945, the Salazar Government put forward the idea of "organic democracy" and "liberalisation" of the regime. There were parliamentary elections in November. Yet it was the supporters of the Salazar regime that alone found themselves in the National Assembly in consequence.

Salazar failed to stem the growth of anti-fascist activities by his "liberalisation" methods. The strike struggles and peasant protests against the government policy of "price regulation" were of a political character, directed against the fascist regime. In 1946, opposition forces staged massive anti-government demonstrations. There was unrest in the Portuguese army as well. The presidential elections in February 1949, put Marshal Carmona, a man of the regime, in office.

In its foreign policy, the Salazar regime was taking its cue from the Western powers. British monopolies retained some footholds in the Portuguese economy. In September 1948, Portugal acceded to the Marshall Plan. In 1949, she became a NATO member.

The process of Portugal's industrialisation gathered momentum in the 1950s. Her exports expanded, the exploitation of colonies increased, capital stocks were building up, and Portugal's "overseas market" enlarged.

The anti-fascist opposition was once more on the rise in the mid-1950s, largely due to the Communist Party. The opposition was active in the presidential election campaign of 1958, with General Umberto Delgado as its candidate. But it was once more an official candidate, Admiral Américo Tomás, who was elected. Delgado had to leave for Brazil.

The 1950s saw the rise of a national liberation movement in Portuguese colonies which were renamed overseas provinces in 1951. In 1955, Portugal entered the UN.

A deep-going crisis of the fascist dictatorship made

itself evident in the 1960s. The regime's social base appreciably contracted.

There were isolated anti-Salazar acts in the early 1960s: the capture of the cruise ship *Santa Maria*, an attempted coup and a plot to capture barracks, and big political demonstrations. The national liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies was gaining ground.

In those conditions, the Portuguese Communist Party showed itself to be an authentic leader of democratic forces. The Communist Party called on anti-fascist forces to rally together within a united front, neutralise at least a larger proportion of the armed forces and carry through a national uprising. Upon the Communist Party's initiative, representatives of the Portuguese opposition held a conference outside Portugal in December 1962, which decided on setting up a Patriotic Front of National Liberation (FPLN). In 1964, the FPLN formed a Revolutionary Military Committee involving patriotically-minded officers. That was an important step in organising the forces of the anti-fascist opposition.

The crisis of the fascist regime was growing from bad to worse as the gravely ill Salazar was replaced by one of his associates, Marcello Caetano, as Prime Minister on September 26, 1968. Under him, press censorship was relaxed and the opposition obtained more opportunities for its operation. In July 1971, the government of Portugal announced that it was granting its overseas provinces a political autonomy and statehood.

From the early 1970s, the situation in Portugal was getting strained. Strikes proliferated. Peace activists were increasingly active. In the latter half of 1973, even some elements in the army began to rise against the colonial war and the fascist dictatorship. A Movement of Captains sprang up, later to be called an Armed Forces Movement (MFA). Hundreds of thousands of Portuguese turned out for anti-fascist demonstrations. A Democratic Movement of Portugal emerged on a Communist initiative. A revolutionary situation developed. Most of the population did not want to tolerate the fascist regime and its partisans could no longer keep the people in submission.

An anti-fascist, democratic revolution broke out in Portugal on April 25, 1974. It began with a rising of

the Armed Forces Movement, which was immediately supported by the mass of the people. The fascist regime was overthrown, and provisional government bodies—a Junta of National Salvation and a Provisional Revolutionary Government—were created. It comprised servicemen, Communists, Socialists, representatives of other political forces. The Revolutionary Government set about at once dismantling the fascist machinery of the state. The secret political police was abolished and political prisoners set free. Democratic parties and trade unions began to operate legally. Urgent measures were taken to improve the working people's condition. The country's foreign policy changed. Portugal declared that it was terminating the colonial war. Diplomatic relations were established with the USSR on June 9, 1974, and with other socialist countries later on. The new government recognised the independence of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique, Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe.

The government passed decrees nationalising certain enterprises, including railways, shipping companies, airlines, companies concerned with the production of electricity and steel, and with the sales of oil and petroleum products, large banks and insurance companies. In consequence, the biggest monopolies were abolished. An agrarian reform decree fixed a 500 ha limit to land possessions in non-irrigated areas and a 50 ha limit in irrigated areas. The reform concerned big landowners who had earlier possessed about 1,200,000 hectares of land. Upwards of 400 co-operatives were set up on the expropriated lands. Workers' factory inspection was established by law. The elections for the Constituent Assembly on April 25, 1975 were won by the left parties. That opened up an opportunity for extending the revolutionary process.

However, the forces of domestic and international reaction were doing everything possible to reverse the revolutionary process. The rightist forces succeeded in breaking up the united front of democratic parties and getting the Socialist Party to move over to anti-communist positions. There was a split within the the Armed Forces Movement. Many progressive-minded officers were removed from the Council of the Revolution.

On April 2, 1976, the Constituent Assembly approved the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic. The Constitution recorded the most important political and social-economic gains of the April Revolution. The rightist forces received powerful support from abroad, notably, from international Social Democracy which insisted on breaking the unity of Socialists and Communists. In consequence, the leadership of the Socialist Party began to evolve rightwards. Rightist parties were rallying their forces, mainly by creating a so-called Democratic Alliance for a new majority. The elections of December 2, 1979 were won by the Democratic Alliance, which was a telling blow at the revolutionary process.

Economic growth rates slowed down in the early 1980s. There was a continued offensive of the rightist forces against the gains of the April Revolution. Having obtained their parliamentary majority, the rightist forces went all-out to get the Constitution amended. The government decided to reconsider 40 collective agreements and reprivatise part of the formerly nationalised sector of the economy. Some of the lands expropriated after the revolution began to be restored to their former owners. The authorities resorted to wide-scale political repressions to quell the protest of working people. In August 1982, the parliamentary majority approved an Act to revise the 1976 Constitution. In consequence, the President's powers were drastically limited, and the Council of the Revolution was abolished. That was a further step in the offensive against the gains of the Revolution.

The continuing rightward shift came up against resistance from working people. The upsurge of the mass movement undermined the positions of the Democratic Alliance. In 1983, the Socialist Party formed a coalition government. However, it set about restoring the positions of private capital in the economy, denationalising a large portion of the public sector, and restricting the social and economic rights of working people. Large democratic and progressive sections opposed the government's line. A government crisis broke out in Portugal in June 1985. An early parliamentary election produced a relative majority of the Social Democratic Party in October 1985. But the presidential election was won by Mario Soares, a Socialist.

The situation after the elections was anything but stable. The Social Democratic government continued paring down the gains of the April Revolution, restoring the power of Big Business and attacking the public sector of the economy, the agrarian reform and the rights of working people. The working-class and peasant movement gained ground, and so did mass action for peace and against the danger of Star Wars.

Portugal strengthened her bond with NATO. The US enlarged its military presence in Portugal and the Azores. Portugal was pressing hard for admission to the European Economic Community. The signing of the treaty admitting Portugal to the Common Market was announced at the EEC Headquarters in Brussels on June 12, 1985. The treaty came into effect on January 1, 1986. In the 1980s, Portugal paid much attention to the processes of European security and cooperation.

## § 10. Belgium

Belgium suffered relatively lesser damage than other European countries in the Second World War. The exploitation of the Congo, which yielded enormous profits, as well as the proceeds from the Allied Forces' use of that country's ports and lines of communication made for her rapid economic recovery. From February 1945, it had a coalition government under Achille Van Acker, a Socialist. It comprised some Communists, too. Reactionary forces, the Catholic Party above all, sought to restore the throne to King Leopold III who was in Switzerland. But the democratic forces adamantly opposed it.

There was an upsurge of the democratic movement in Belgium in the early post-war years, and the positions of workers' organisations were strengthened. Belgian working people secured important social gains in 1945-1949.

With support from international capital, reactionary forces started their offensive against democracy in 1947. The leaders of the Social Christian Party (SCP) and the Liberal Party (LP, from 1961—the Freedom and

Progress Party—FPP) launched a full-scale anti-communist propaganda campaign. The leaders of the Belgian Socialist Party (BSP), who entered into an alliance with them, provoked a government crisis. The Communists did not join the government which was formed by a Socialist, Paul-Henri Spaak. In July 1948, the coalition government approved the Marshall Plan and unambiguously committed itself to co-operation with the US. Belgium joined the Western European Union in March 1948, and NATO in April 1949. She participated in the economic and military-political integration of West European countries. Belgium's involvement in the military-political system of imperialist states caused her to intensify her arms build-up and augment her military spending.

Having driven the Communists out of the government, the rightist bourgeois forces set about once again trying to bring King Leopold III back to the throne. The Social Christian and Liberal parties won the parliamentary elections of June 6, 1949. The SCP leader, Gaston Eyskens was put at the head of the coalition government. On March 12, 1950, the new government held a referendum in which 57.8 per cent voted for the King's comeback. The return of Leopold III to Brussels on July 22, 1950 touched off a mass protest of Belgian working people. The country was overtaken by strikes and demonstrations which escalated into a national strike, involving over half a million people. Police forces and military units were brought into action against the strikers. A march of the opponents of Leopold III on Brussels was scheduled for the 1st of August. Then, following a proposal from the right-wing BSP leaders, an agreement was reached for Leopold III to abdicate in favour of his son, Prince Baudouin who ascended the throne in July 1951.

The 1950s saw an intensified offensive of reactionary forces against the living standards and democratic rights of working people, and the anti-communist campaign moved into higher gear. Political life was still dominated by three major parties: BSP, SCP and LP. The coalition governments were formed of representatives of these parties. Because of its membership of the Common Market, the Belgian government got down to restructuring the

nation's economic set-up. A government "economic recovery" plan was adopted, providing for a few dozen "uncompetitive" enterprises to be closed down.

An acute crisis hit the Belgian economy late in 1958. The country's economic development was handicapped by growing militarisation. To improve its economic position, Belgian imperialism intensified the colonial plunder of the Congo. State-monopoly capitalism gained much headway. Foreign, mostly American, investment swelled.

The working masses vehemently protested against the government's policy, above all, because of the closure of a number of enterprises. There was a further flare-up of the strike movement in 1959. Workers confronted the police and erected barricades. A further sharpening of the class struggle came about in 1960. The strike struggles assumed national dimensions, involving about a million factory and office workers. The government had to resign.

There were some shifts in Belgium's economic structure in the 1960s. It was being readjusted under the 1960 economic, social and financial development programme, to meet the requirements of the international division of labour and the technological revolution. Production in a number of industries fell off in the mid-1960s.

The government of Belgium was involved in all NATO activities and backed up West-European integration. It went to war against the Congo in 1960. Under the pretext of having to defend the European settlers and maintain order, Belgian forces launched combat operations against the Congo, which went on right until 1963. There was some positive change in Belgium's foreign policy in the latter half of the 1960s. Her representatives at the NATO ministerial session in 1966 spoke up for a relaxation of international tension. Some headway was made in Belgium's relationship with the USSR and other socialist countries. A Belgian-Soviet trade treaty was signed late in 1970.

The ethnic relations issue became quite a problem in Belgian political life. An intense political battle broke up between the Walloons and the Flemish (the two major ethnic communities). That led to a division of the political parties into the Walloon and Flemish wings. The exacerbation of the ethnic relations issue com-

pelled the country's ruling establishment to undertake some constitutional reforms. Late in 1970, the government revised the Constitution, legislatively acknowledging the existence of three cultural communities (Francophone, Flemish and German) and four linguistic regions (with the three above-mentioned languages and also bilingual Brussels). There was also the idea to set up three regional centres of authority—in Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels. Yet no practical change in these regions of Belgium was ever achieved.

In the 1970s, the Belgian economy developed such negative features as inflation, currency and energy crises. The condition of working people worsened. Belgium's working class never stopped fighting for a change of their status at the point of production and within the framework of society, for more democratic rights and freedoms and for a foreign policy geared to peace. There was more pressure from the rural population.

An economic recession occurred in Belgium in 1975. The crisis condition of the economy lasted longer than it did in other capitalist countries. Not even in 1980 did the level of production in many industries rise beyond that of 1973. With the working people's economic condition deteriorating, the social situation in Belgium became strained. A general national strike, involving over a million factory and office workers, broke out in February 1977. There was, besides, a large-scale movement against the siting of American nuclear missiles on the country's territory. In the context of a crisis, the government carried through a series of social and economic measures in the interest of working people. An Economic Recovery Act as well as some other regulations along these lines were adopted in 1976.

The 1970s saw certain shifts in Belgium's foreign policy in favour of international detente. An Assembly of Representatives of Public Opinion for Security and Co-operation in Europe was held in Brussels in June 1972. In 1975, Belgium joined the European Conference in Helsinki. Belgium went on record for a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East and for an end to the war in Vietnam. Belgium's links with the USSR and other socialist countries were increased.

The economic crisis of the early 1980s hit Belgium hard.



It turned out to be a long-drawn one and strained the nation's domestic political situation. A government crisis broke out three times in 1980 over the issues of political structure and over an involved socio-economic situation. The first stage of the reform of the political structure was over back in 1979, with executive authorities established in Wallonia and Flanders. In 1980, an Act on law-making agencies of the regions and the communities—the Flemish Community Executive Board, the Walloon Regional Executive Board and the Francophone Community Executive Board. That, in consequence, produced a sophisticated and cumbersome system of legislative and executive authorities.

The deepening economic crisis compelled Parliament to grant emergency powers to the government in January 1982. These were used for carrying through a set of measures to undercut the purchasing power of the population and augment financial aid to the private sector. This brought about intensified strike struggles. There were large-scale strikes, demonstrations and protest marches against the government's emergency anti-crisis measures in 1982.

The 1980s saw a sweeping anti-war movement throughout the country, notably that of the peace-loving masses, against the installation of American intermediate-range nuclear missiles on Belgian territory. There was a mammoth anti-war demonstration, bringing together half a million people, on October 23, 1983. Up to 80 per cent Belgians came out in March 1985 against the government's decision, approved by Parliament, to allow American missiles to be deployed on national territory. Hundreds of Belgian municipal councils declared their regions nuclear-free zones. A 100,000-strong anti-war demonstration was held in Brussels on October 20, 1985. However, the first American cruise missiles did arrive in March 1985.

## § 11. The Netherlands

The Netherlands was an advanced industrial-agrarian country. After the war, she rebuilt, first of all, those industries which did not require large capital invest-

ment and yielded quick profit. By the end of 1948, the Netherlands had surpassed the pre-war level of industrial and agricultural production.

General democratic sentiment spread among large sections of the population in the immediate post-war years. The masses demanded the restoration of democracy and eradication of fascism. In its reaction to it, the government banned the fascist National-Socialist Movement and put its leader, Anton Mussert, on trial. There were new political groups in the making since the pre-war bourgeois parties had discredited themselves by their policies of collaboration with the invading Nazis. A Catholic People's Party (CPP), absorbing what remained of the former Catholic Party, arose in 1946. The efforts to bring the former Social Democratic Workers' Party back to life aborted. So a Party of Labour (PL) was created in February 1946. The Communist Party of the Netherlands, which had been the principal driving force of the resistance movement during the war, won great prestige.

After the war ended, the democratic forces of the Netherlands started working for progressive change in the political, social and economic areas. The working class staged strikes in defence of its vital interests. The nation's ruling establishment had to make serious concessions.

The first post-war elections of the States-General (Parliament) were held on May 17, 1946. The Catholic People's Party and the Party of Labour formed a coalition government. In subsequent years, the CPP and the PL entered almost all government coalitions. With that government in office, the positions of monopoly capital were strengthened and foreign, notably American, capital flooded the country. Measures were taken to readjust the country's economy to produce more for export and to regain dominant positions in Indonesia. On September 29, 1945, the Netherlands started a colonial war in Indonesia, with direct political, economic and military support from Britain and the United States.

The Netherlands began to depart from traditional neutrality in favour of integration with other capitalist countries. In 1948, she joined the Benelux Economic

Union, then subscribed to the Marshall Plan and entered the Western European Union and the North Atlantic bloc. However, the Netherlands could not restore her domination of Indonesia, even with the help of her allies. At a round-table conference in The Hague in November 1949, the government of the Netherlands had to recognise the independence of Indonesia.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Netherlands' economy was advancing apace. Integration with other countries went on together with a reshaping of the Dutch economy. The biggest monopolies closely intertwined with the state machinery.

Frequent Cabinet reshuffles were a feature of the nation's political life. Coalition CPP and PL governments were in office in the 1950s. The People's Party for Freedom and Democracy also joined the mainstream of national political life, as did the Anti-Revolutionary (Protestant) Party, the Christian Historical Union, the Democrats '66. The Communists and Pacifists strengthened their positions.

The working class never stopped fighting for its vital interests. The national strike of building trades workers in March 1960, should be noted as one of the major actions of that period. Higher pay was the central demand. In consequence, the authorities and employers had to put up wages by an average of 42 per cent in 1964-1966. However, in the latter half of the 1960s, the government moved to freeze wages, arousing a further outburst of protest.

There was a mounting anti-war movement pressing for the Netherlands to limit her participation in NATO, stop the arms build-up, recognise the GDR and demand an end to the war in Vietnam.

In the realm of foreign policy, the Netherlands' governments were seeking to strengthen and extend the country's international trading, economic and political links. They were actively promoting West-European economic integration. The Headquarters of the Command of the NATO Armed Forces in Central Europe was installed on the territory of the Netherlands in 1966.

In the mid-1970s, the Netherlands lived through an economic crisis. To bring about an economic upturn, the government pursued a policy of wage freeze and

price control. The instability of political life increased. The influence of the Catholic People's Party declined, while that of the Social Democrats rose. In the 1972 elections, the Labour Party, having polled the most votes, became the leading party of the government coalition for the first time.

Dutch public opinion was more active in pressing for a relaxation of international tension and opposing the Cold War, the arms race and the "Atlantic" policies. On December 6, 1979, Parliament voted overwhelmingly against American missiles being sited in Holland.

The Netherlands' foreign policy was increasingly favouring the relaxation of international tension and normalised relations with socialist countries. Agreements were concluded between the USSR and the Netherlands in the 1970s. The Netherlands established diplomatic relations with the MPR, GDR and SRV. In the summer of 1975, the Netherlands took part in the closing deliberations of the European Conference on Security and Co-operation in Helsinki.

In 1980-1982, the nation lived through a severe economic crisis. With economic and social problems exacerbated, the domestic political situation remained very fluid. There was, by and large, a leftward shift in the alignment of forces in the country's legislative body. A major political event was the adoption of a new Constitution on February 17, 1983, replacing the old one which had been in force since the 19th century. Constitutional monarchy remained as the form of government.

The resistance of factory and office workers to the government's social policy stiffened in the 1980s. There were mass actions of protest and brief strikes. The anti-missile movement gained in scope. Peace activists organised a number of big anti-war actions. The greatest anti-war demonstration in Western Europe throughout the post-war period, involving about 500,000 people, took place in Amsterdam on November 21, 1981. There was a yet more powerful anti-war demonstration in The Hague on October 29, 1983: 550,000 people carried the slogan, "No More Nuclear Arms in Europe!"

In her foreign policy, the Netherlands was giving top priority to her co-operation in NATO and the EEC. At the same time, taking into account the mood of the

public and many MPs, the government was putting off its decision-making about the installation of American missiles on national territory. The Netherlands continued to co-operate with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the economic, scientific, technological and cultural areas.

## § 12. Switzerland

After the end of the war, the economic position of Switzerland was rather favourable. The volume of industrial production increased apace, capital investment in the economy built up and credit and banking operations and export expanded. The concentration and centralisation of production and capital were growing fast. The country came to lead the world in watch-making (about 65 million a year). At the same time, Switzerland was consolidating her position as one of the world's financial centres, with capital flowing in from various countries. Swiss capital, in turn, was actively penetrating abroad notably, in Latin America.

Political life was dominated by a coalition of four parties: Radical-Democratic Party, Conservative People's Party, the Peasants, Artisans and Middle Class Party, and the Social Democratic Party.

Switzerland maintained her neutrality. It is for this reason that she did not join the UN. But her representatives did join UNESCO and some other UN agencies. On March 18, 1946, the USSR restored diplomatic relations with Switzerland after she had met its demand for the repatriation of Soviet nationals and recognised the fallacy of the former anti-Soviet policy.

There was an upsurge of the working-class and democratic movement in the early post-war years. The Swiss Labour Party (SLP), which incorporated members of the Communist Party (banned during the war), of the Socialist Federation and Left Social Democrats, was created in Zürich in October 1944. The SLP led the struggle of working people for peace, democracy and social progress, for the nation's true neutrality and for its normal relationship with socialist countries.

Switzerland had no legislative provisions as yet about

holidays and social insurance. Therefore, the social situation was strained from time to time.

One serious problem of the late 1950s and the early 1960s was that of foreign workers who numbered close on 800,000 in 1964. Their material status and working conditions were incomparably worse than those of the native Swiss. Right-wing forces tried to split up the working-class movement and stoked up chauvinistic sentiment. Foreign workers were blamed for social and economic difficulties.

The democratic and anti-war movement also gained in strength. Progressive forces were pressing for female suffrage. There was a referendum on the subject on February 1, 1959, involving men only. Under pressure from the clerical establishment, and right-wing bourgeois parties, the majority went on record against female suffrage. Yet, little by little, there was a shift in respect of this pressing problem. Another referendum was held on February 7, 1971, with a majority supporting the proposal for women to be granted voting rights.

The 1960s saw a trend emerging for improved relations with the countries of the socialist system. The volume of Soviet-Swiss trade increased, and so did scientific and technological links. Switzerland was advancing her relations with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and other socialist countries.

In the early 1970s, the nation's economy was developing at a fast pace due to the demand for Swiss goods in the foreign markets and large investment in industry. From 1974 on, there was a slowdown of economic growth, followed by a recession. In the face of the 1974-1975 economic crisis, the government produced a number of legislative acts to stabilise the economic situation. These provided for government subsidies for social security to be reduced and taxes increased.

Working people came forward in solidarity with the national liberation movement and joined anti-war protests. Swiss trade unions stepped up their struggle against the anti-labour policies of the governments. The prestige of the SLP, the Communists, was growing. An SLP leader, Roger Dafflon, was elected mayor of Geneva in 1979.

Switzerland's foreign policy did not change much. The

government was essentially supporting the policy of neutrality. True, it was now giving more attention to the problems of European integration and declaring itself willing to establish a "special relationship" with the EEC, taking her neutrality into consideration. On July 22, 1972, Switzerland signed a Free Trade Agreement with the EEC applying to industrial goods. The Swiss government did not stay out of the general European process in pursuit of security and co-operation. It shared in preparing and holding the Helsinki Conference of 1975 and put its signature to the Final Act.

The government exerted much effort to persuade the nation's political forces to support the proposals for Switzerland to join the UN.

In the early 1980s, Switzerland experienced the negative effect of the deteriorating world economic situation. There was a notable economic recession in 1981-1983. That aggravated the social situation, above all the position of the foreign workers. As early as January 1980, they held a congress to demand equal rights with the Swiss workers. However, the referendum of 1981 rejected the proposal for an extension of the rights of foreign workers. The movement involved young people who demanded improved working and recreational conditions and increased educational opportunities. The peace movement was gaining ground. The biggest anti-war demonstration of the post-war years took place in Bern in December 1981.

The issue of joining the UN was still debated throughout the country in the 1980s. In a referendum on March 16, 1986, the population voted against Switzerland's accession to the UN.

### § 13. Denmark

The first post-war elections for the Folketing (Parliament) in October 1945, were a success for the bourgeois-agrarian (Left) Venstre Party which formed a one-party government under Knud Kristensen. It was in office until 1947. The Kristensen Government turned out to be incapable of resolving the nation's paramount economic and social problems.

A Social Democratic government, which came to power in October 1947, moved against the drift of foreign currency out of the country, limited the importation of finished products and lent assistance to fishing enterprises. In 1948, the Social Democrats passed a law to grant land to small-scale peasants (the Small Holdings Acts). In 1948 and 1949, the country's economic performance improved. One effect of the Social Democratic government's foreign policy was to involve Denmark in the Marshall Plan and open up opportunities for American capital. Denmark entered NATO.

In the 1960s, the volume of industrial production doubled and Denmark's export of industrial output trebled. The political situation was distinguished by a certain balance of forces between the Social Democrats and bourgeois parties (Venstre and Højre). In the autumn of 1950, with the SDP in the opposition, the Venstre Party formed a Liberal-Conservative coalition government which existed until 1953. A new Constitution, which was adopted in 1953, introduced a unicameral Parliament (Folketing). SDP governments were in office from 1953 to 1964, comprising representatives of some bourgeois parties. Having no broad parliamentary base, the SDP strove to rely on an alliance with the parties of the petty bourgeoisie and middle classes. The SDP was committed to a "mixed economy". Danish-Soviet relations began to improve from the mid-1950s. In March 1956, Prime Minister Hans Hansen made an official visit to the USSR, leading to a number of agreements being concluded between the two countries and their trade expanding. In 1957, Denmark refused to allow NATO missile bases to be installed on her territory.

There were dramatic conflicts between employers and trade unions under Social Democratic rule. Metal workers, ship-builders, and transport workers were active in those struggles, demanding higher pay and a shorter working week. The Social Democratic government was forced to make concessions to working people. In the late 1950s, it introduced sickness insurance and increased unemployment relief.

A coalition government of bourgeois parties was in office in 1968-1971. There was a cutback on budget expenses



under it. But the country's financial situation worsened. The foreign exchange reserve shrank, while the foreign trade deficit increased.

The working-class movement developed unevenly in the 1960s. Under Social Democratic governments, trade union leaders restrained strike struggles. Yet they intensified in the late 1960s. The peace movement gained in scope as well. There were the largest yet protest marches in Western Europe in the early 1960s against atomic weapons and nuclear tests. In the latter half of the 1960s, the peace activists demanded an end to the war in Indochina. Denmark's peace-loving sections of opinion were pressing for their country to leave NATO and protested against the rearming of West Germany. Faced by the anti-NATO sentiment of the masses in the mid-1960s, the Social Democrats declared that although Denmark remained in NATO, she reserved the right to leave that bloc at a year's notice.

There was a slowdown of industrial growth rates in the early 1970s. The government expected to improve the financial and economic situation by trimming public consumption, limiting wage increases and reducing expenditure for social security and education. In 1970, the Folketing approved an Act empowering the government to interfere in negotiations between trade unions and employers with a view to fixing wage limits. Turn-over taxes and rents were put up, and prices frozen. But the government could not head off the growing economic difficulties. In the autumn of 1971, following the elections for the Folketing, it was replaced by an SDP government. The Social Democrats went for a slashing of military spending and tax cuts. At the same time, the SDP saw the accession to the Common Market as the only way out for Denmark. There was a dramatic contest on the subject both within the SDP and throughout the nation as a whole. On January 1, 1973, Denmark became a member of the European Economic Community. Yet her membership did nothing to ease her economic situation. All that caused the SDP's prestige to fall.

There was an economic crisis in Denmark in 1974 and 1975, leading to a decline of industrial production. The government of Poul Hartling, a Liberal (1973-1975), sought to overcome the crisis recession of the economy

by reducing government spending on social welfare and introducing further indirect taxes. The working people replied by staging strikes and protest meetings which caused the bourgeois government to resign and brought the Social Democrats back to power in February 1975.

In 1975 and 1976, the Folketing approved a series of measures to improve the economic situation and increase employment. In 1976, Denmark began extricating herself out of the crisis, step by step. Detente had a great impact on positive change in Denmark's foreign policy. In 1975, Denmark signed the Final Act in Helsinki. However, in the late 1970s, the Danish government supported the NATO decision for new American nuclear missiles to be sited in a number of West-European countries. Denmark declared for normal relations to be developed and strengthened in the Baltic Sea zone. At the same time, the government did not back Finland's proposal for Northern Europe to be declared a nuclear-free zone. Danish-Soviet relations assumed wider dimensions in the years of detente.

The economic downturn in the early 1980s in the US and Western Europe, where Denmark was essentially exporting her products, and the rising world prices of industrial and power resources affected the state of the Danish economy which faced a crisis recession in 1980-1982. Because of the crisis, the attention of the government and Parliament as well as of the main political parties was concentrated on the ways and means of "economic recovery". In April 1980, the government put forward a long-term economic programme which provided for a further conservation of public funds, encouragement of the export-oriented industries, etc. The policy of slashing social spending and putting up indirect taxes was continued.

The battle over the action to take towards resolving the basic economic problems brought the contradictions in the Folketing to a head. In 1982, the Social Democrats resigned. A coalition government of bourgeois parties was formed. It appreciably reduced government appropriations for education, public health, social security and housing construction, froze wages and salaries, and suspended their control system.

Working people reacted to the government's economic

policy by a wave of strikes, meetings and protest demonstrations. There was a drastic sharpening of the social struggles in the spring of 1985 in view of the employers' refusal to take into account working people's demands in renegotiating collective bargaining agreements. The government's reply to that was to push an Act through Parliament on ending strikes and forcing the settlement of the conflict. That strained the situation even more. Peace activists stepped up their fight against the arms race and for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. Large demonstrations against the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe took place in Copenhagen and other cities of Denmark in the spring and autumn of 1983.

Denmark's foreign policy was determined, first and foremost, by her membership of NATO and the EEC. At the same time, the government favoured continued East-West co-operation and promoted relations with the USSR and other socialist countries in the economic, scientific and technological as well as cultural fields.

#### § 14. Norway

Soon after the end of the war a government of Einar Gerhardsen (the Workers' Party of Norway) was formed in Norway. The WPN remained in office continuously until the mid-1960s.

In the opening stages, the Workers' Party government followed the inter-party Common Programme drawn up at the war's end. The programme was supported by Communists as well. It enunciated democratic liberties, including the right to work as well as to the establishment of "economic democracy", i.e., assuring working people an opportunity to share in industrial management. The principal objective for the government to realise was to rebuild and advance the Norwegian economy. Paramount attention was given to the development of export-oriented industries and to navigation. Primary resources, finances, foreign trade and prices were brought under government control. The working day for agricultural labour and sailors was reduced to 8 hours. Government regulation applied to employer-labour relations as well.

The effect of the economic policy of the Workers' Party government was to restore Norway's economy, with state-monopoly capitalism coming to occupy important positions. Further headway was made in the development of the merchant marine, steel and non-ferrous electric metallurgy and electro-chemical industry.

In foreign affairs, the Gerhardsen government committed itself to promoting co-operation with the West, renouncing the policy of non-alignment which had been originally proclaimed. In 1948, Norway joined the Marshall Plan, and in April 1949, she entered NATO.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the economy of Norway was developing at a fast pace. Large capital investments were made, notably in the construction of hydro-electric power stations and ship-building. Norway came to rank third in the world by the tonnage of her fleet (after the US and Great Britain).

The government carried through certain reforms. The election constituency system was amended in 1953, which made the representation of certain parties in Parliament more balanced. In the subsequent year, the Constitution was supplemented with a provision for official employment to be assured for the entire able-bodied population, sickness insurance for all persons in receipt of wages, and a common state-funded disability pension. Additional seniority pensions were introduced in 1962 by agreement between the unions and employers, and so was equal pay for male and female work. A month-long paid leave was introduced for factory and office workers in Norway since 1965.

The opposition bourgeois parties sought to remove the WPN from power. Yet it was only in the mid-1960s that they managed to do so. The WPN was defeated in the 1965 elections. The new coalition government under Per Borten, the Centre Party leader, was formed. The government also included representatives of the Høyre Party (Conservatives), the Venstre Party (Liberals) and the Christian People's Party. The new government carried through a tax reform beneficial for the employers and suspended the drafting of legislation for more democratic factory management. Under pressure from the left, the Borten government had to introduce a new, integrated social security

system in 1967, making all citizens eligible for seniority pensions. Allowances for all children under 16 were introduced in 1970.

The policy of "class partnership", conducted by the WPN and trade unions, reduced the intensity of the social struggles but did not cause them to die down altogether. "Wildcat" strikes took place throughout the nation from time to time. An anti-war movement surged in the 1960s. Its activists were speaking out against Norway's membership of NATO, her entry into the Common Market and against the war in Vietnam. That could not fail to influence the country's foreign policy. The Norwegian government promised not to allow any US military bases or nuclear weapons to be sited on national territory and spoke up for a ban on nuclear tests and on the spread of nuclear weapons. Soviet-Norwegian relations began to improve.

In the 1960s, Norway joined the group of most advanced capitalist states. She came to rank third in Western Europe (after Switzerland and Sweden) by the size of the gross national income per head. Her fast economic growth continued in the 1970s. The development of oil and gas deposits brought about increased business activity and somewhat put off the onset of an economic crisis. Yet, at the same time, an economic recession did take place as early as 1977-1978.

A debate over the attitude to the Common Market flared up in Norway's political life in the early 1970s. In a referendum on September 25, 1972, 53.5 per cent of the electorate voted against the country's joining the Common Market. On May 14, 1973, Norway signed a treaty with the EEC only on free trade in industrial goods.

Norway once more had a WPN government since 1973. The Industrial Democracy Act came into force in 1973. The government worked hard to stimulate business activity and curb inflation. In September 1978, it decided to freeze the prices of all goods and services. An Incomes (Prices and Wages) Control Act was approved in October 1979.

The role of the mass working-class movement in the nation's political life increased. The 40-hour working week was extended to apply to all groups of working people

as from April 1, 1977. The role of the trade unions in the efforts to promote international detente rose. A movement got under way in Norway against plans to deploy American nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Norway spoke up for an easing of international tension before many other capitalist countries did so. In the early 1970s, she called for the territorial and political realities to be recognised in Europe, approvingly referred to the 1970 Soviet-West German Treaty and similar treaties. Norway was one of the first to second the idea of calling a Conference on European Security and Co-operation, and she was involved in preparing and holding it. In 1975, Prime Minister Trygve Bratteli signed the Helsinki Final Act. Norway expanded co-operation with her neighbours within the framework of the Nordic Council. Soviet-Norwegian relations moved a stage ahead in the years of detente.

Yet, at the same time, being a NATO member, Norway was not consistent in respect of the relaxation of international tension. Norwegian territory was repeatedly used by NATO countries for military exercises. The Norwegian government gave no consent to Finland's proposal for Northern Europe to be declared a nuclear free zone.

There was an economic stagnation in Norway in 1981-1982. The economic situation began to improve from 1983 on. Rapid progress in the development of the oil and gas industries made it possible for Norway to pay off virtually all of her foreign debt by the end of 1984. The government of Norway was still giving great attention to social and economic problems (employment, inflation, and taxation).

But the economic stagnation caused the discontent with the WPN policy to rise. The 1981 elections brought to power the Høyre Party and a Cabinet was formed with Kare Willoch at the head. There was no appreciable change in the new government's social and economic policy at first. However, by as early as 1982, budget appropriations for social needs had been reduced and military spending increased. The government urged the working people to exercise "restraint" and "moderation". However, the working masses did not respond to the government's appeal. A government crisis broke out

in May 1986. Willoch's project for economic recovery through a drastic lowering of the rate of consumption enlisted no support. The government coalition had to resign. In May 1986, the WPN once more came to lead the government, with Gro Harlem Brundtland as Prime Minister.

In the context of a strained international situation, working people and all peace activists came out in support of a policy to ease tensions, to promote detente and peaceful co-operation among nations. Peace-seeking sections of opinion in Norway grew more active in speaking out for a nuclear-free zone to be created in Northern Europe. This idea was shared also by Gro Harlem Brundtland, WPN leader. The Norwegian government declared itself opposed to an arms race in space. Norway continued to develop her relations with the USSR and other socialist states.

## § 15. Sweden

Sweden, which had remained neutral during the war, did not suffer any destruction, nor sustained any loss of life. Her industrial production had considerably increased. The economic situation was rather favourable right after the end of the war. Sweden was supplying industrial commodities and building materials to European countries and expanding her foreign trade. She had sizable investments and enterprises in over 20 countries. However, American Big Business exercised considerable economic pressure on Sweden, which compelled her to import American goods and transact less favourable financial operations. Within a short space of time, that cut her gold reserves down to one-sixth of what it was before. In July 1948, the USA called on Sweden to join the Marshall Plan.

The domestic political situation was fairly stable. The absolute majority in the Riksdag (Parliament) was in the hands of Social Democrats and Communists, following the 1944 parliamentary elections. The four-party coalition government which had existed before was replaced on July 20, 1945, by a one-party Social-Democratic Cabinet under Per Albin Hansson, leader of

the Social Democratic Party of Sweden. He was succeeded in this capacity upon his death in the autumn of 1946 by Tage Erlander, the new Social Democratic leader. With their majority in the Riksdag, the Social Democrats carried through a number of reforms in the early post-war years: introducing, notably, old age pensions, mandatory in-patient service, increased salaries for low-paid civil servants, and a tax reform affecting, for the most part, the best-off sections of the population. The programme for housing construction and aid for the farming community provided for state loans to be granted to individual home-builders and farmers with at least 10 hectares of land at their disposal. The agricultural programme was aimed at dislodging unprofitable small-time farmstead owners and strengthening the positions of well-to-do farmers.

The early post-war years likewise saw Sweden determine her foreign policy. The Swedish government declared that it would pursue a policy of "freedom from alliances". It quickly restored good relations with the US, Britain, Denmark and Norway. It was not all that simple in Soviet-Swedish relations because of Sweden's pro-German position during the war and the problem of the "refugees", many of whom were war criminals. Sweden refused to extradite them to the Soviet authorities. Yet these relations began to develop since 1946. In 1946, Sweden entered the United Nations Organisation.

Sweden derived great economic benefits from the situation strained in consequence of the Cold War situation and from the arms race. The expanding NATO war programmes and the war in Korea stimulated the expansion of the Swedish munitions industry and other sectors of the economy related to it, and brought about a considerable expansion of exports. The nation achieved a kind of economic boom in the late 1950s and in the early 1960s. The boom brought with it mammoth profits, above all, for the financial oligarchy. However, the condition of working people also improved to a certain extent. Some social welfare measures were put through.

Political life was still predominantly influenced by the Social Democratic Party which was in control of gov-



ernment. In the autumn of 1951, the Social Democrats and the Agrarian Party agreed on rebuilding a bipartisan coalition (the so-called red-green coalition) committed to social reforms, the protection of the farmers' interests and rejection of the plans to nationalise certain industries. In foreign affairs, both parties agreed to abide by the policy of neutrality.

The Erlander Government kept on carrying through social and economic measures. The National Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions (NSCTU) and the Swedish Employers' Confederation (SEC) arrived at an accord to establish a sliding wage scale. An Act introducing a three-week paid leave for working people was approved in 1951. Universal mandatory sickness insurance was introduced in 1955. So was pension adjustment to keep pace with the rise of the cost of living. In 1957, the Erlander Government nationalised the biggest public-private ore mines in the Swedish Arctic region. A 45-hour working week was progressively introduced under the 1957 Act.

In October 1957, the Agrarians left the government coalition and the Social Democrats formed a one-party government. The economic situation worsened late in 1957 and in the early half of 1958. However, Sweden rapidly overcame the crisis trends in the economy.

Joint action by Social Democrats and Communists enabled yet another series of important social measures to be carried through. These included a Pensions Act adopted in May 1958, and the 1962 Social Security Act (covering, in particular, old age security, seniority pensions, and sickness insurance allowances) as well as an Act introducing universal nine-year schooling. It was decided in 1963 to start preparations for a transition to a 40-hour working week. Mandatory life insurance was introduced for trade unionists of over 21. Rent allowances for low-paid families with children were more than doubled since January 1964. A new Swedish Constitution was being drafted. In 1967, the government brought in a 5-per cent salary increase for half a million employees. Pensions were put up by 38 per cent since 1968. Rent allowances for families with children were again raised from 1969 on. The tax on real estates worth over 100,000 crowns was increased at the

same time. Those measures enhanced the authority of the Social Democratic government. In 1969, Erlander stepped down, and the reins of government and party leadership were taken over by Olof Palme who had been Minister of Education until then. A 1969 reform transformed the Riksdag from bicameral into unicameral.

Although the Social Democrats had headed the government of Sweden and carried through quite a few social reforms in the 1950s and 1960s, the national setting was far from that of "class peace". Workers staged economic strikes. Working people were also involved in the peace movement. Swedish opinion spoke out for a peaceful settlement in Korea and Indochina.

In foreign affairs, Sweden, while observing neutrality, maintained a pro-Western stand. She supported the American aggression in Korea. As that aggression expanded, Sweden was dissociating herself from collective sanctions. She deplored the aggression against Egypt in 1956. Soviet-Swedish relations took a turn for the better from the mid-1950s.

The economic upsurge of the 1950s and 1960s made Sweden sure of her position as a highly advanced industrialised nation. In the early half of the 1970s crisis trends, which continued up to the end of the decade, were observed.

The government put through a number of social welfare measures to improve the economic health. An Act introducing a 40-hour working week was passed in 1971. Subsequently, the Riksdag approved Acts concerning factory and office workers' representation in management boards, labour safety and employment guarantees. It was decided to use some of the pension fund resources (60,000 million crowns in 1972) for investment in industry.

Sweden's new Constitution, which enhanced the significance of the Riksdag and widened its powers, was adopted in 1975. The King remained head of state. Carl XVI Gustaf has been the King of Sweden from 1973 on.

The situation began to change in the latter half of the 1970s. The Riksdag elections of September 1976 were won by bourgeois parties which gained a majority (180 seats). The Social Democrats went over into opposition.

On October 8, 1976, the Chairman of the Centre Party, T. Fälldin formed a government of representatives of three bourgeois parties. The government's policy was to encourage private capital and lend it considerable assistance in making itself competitive in the world markets and increasing employment. In 1977, the government came forward with anti-crisis proposals, stepped up taxes, devalued the crown twice and offered to cut the employer tax.

In the 1970s, Sweden was actively pressing for a relaxation of international tension. Under Prime Minister Olof Palme, Sweden took part in preparing and holding the European Conference on Security and Co-operation. Her links with the USSR and other socialist countries increased. In 1977, Sweden brought before the United Nations Disarmament Committee in Geneva a draft Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water.

In the early 1980s, the country's economic situation began to worsen again. Sweden found herself in the grip of an economic crisis. A certain progressive economic upturn began in 1983. The Fälldin Government put forward an austerity programme to overcome the economic crisis at the expense of working people. Social and economic difficulties drastically exacerbated the political struggle. The strike movement mounted. Transport workers and other employees went on strike in support of their demand for higher wages on April 25, 1980. Employers replied with a lockout. But the strike struggle kept on expanding. It involved 558,000 in the early half of May. Nearly 85 per cent of productive capacities were brought to a halt. That was the most dramatic labour conflict in Sweden since 1909. A compromise arrangement was achieved by the combined efforts of the authorities, employers and trade unions.

But the positions of the bourgeois government were undermined. In October 1982, the Social Democratic leader, Olof Palme formed a government of Social Democrats and non-party people. The government's primary concern was to pull the country out of the economic crisis. A Bill to create working people's "funds" was tabled to this end. The policy of the Palme Gov-

ernment met with strong resentment from right-wing bourgeois quarters. In 1986, Palme was assassinated. The new leader of the SDP, Ingvar Carlsson, became Prime Minister after that. He declared that Sweden would continue her policy of neutrality, her pursuit of peace and disarmament and would press on for a nuclear-free zone to be established in Northern Europe.

There was a considerable upsurge of the anti-war movement in Sweden in the 1980s. Peace activists were speaking out for a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe.

In international affairs, Sweden did not go along with those who were committed to raising tension. The Swedish representatives at the Madrid 35-nation follow-up meeting worked towards agreement on holding a conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe. The Social Democrats spoke up against any more nuclear weapons being deployed in Europe and for those already in place to be substantially reduced. Sweden also called for a nuclear-free zone to be created in Central Europe. The Swedish government made an appreciable contribution towards preparing and holding the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Stockholm in 1984-1986. Sweden was actively involved in the discussion of regional conflicts. The government's attention was concentrated on security issues for Northern Europe. On June 3, 1981, the Riksdag went on record for a joint effort by North-European countries in bringing about a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe as a stepping-stone towards making all Europe a nuclear-free zone of the world.

Further headway was made in the development of Sweden's relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist as well as developing countries. Ingvar Carlsson positively appreciated the Soviet programme for a stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear arms by 2000 and spoke up for peaceful space and for an end to all nuclear testing.

## § 16. Finland

Finland, which had formed part of the bloc of beligerent nations, suffered a defeat in the war. No sooner

had the hostilities ceased than important political changes began to be made in that country. The fascist organisations were disbanded. The wartime emergency legislation expired. Anti-fascists, including many Communists, were set free from jails and concentration camps. The Communist Party of Finland began to operate legally. The creation of the Finnish People's Democratic League (SKDL), comprising Communists, Left Socialists and Small Farmers, on October 29, 1944, was an important step on the way towards uniting the country's progressive forces. The SKDL committed itself to assuring the nation's democratic development, improving the condition of its working people and promoting good-neighbourly relations with the USSR.

The process of change involved other political organisations as well. Two wings, right and left, were created within the Social Democratic Party of Finland. The bourgeois National Coalition Party and the Progressive Party were out to prevent deep-going social and economic change and ganged up against the left forces to this end.

A coalition government under Juho Paasikivi, comprising representatives of the Agrarian Union, the Swedish People's Party, the Progressive Party, Social Democrats and the Communist Party (CPF), was in power since November 1944. The government called for friendly and good-neighbourly relations to be established with the USSR and got down to carrying through democratic measures. Finland's civil service was purged of fascist elements and the culprits of the war were convicted. In 1945, the Parliament approved a Land Act providing for 100,000 new land plots to be allotted. In the following year, it was decided to expropriate surplus land from big landowners with due compensation. However, the SKDL's proposal for the nationalisation of large-scale industry and banks was rejected by representatives of the Social Democrats and bourgeois parties.

On March 4, 1946, Mannerheim resigned as President. He was succeeded by Juho Paasikivi, elected on March 9. The new government was headed by left Social Democrat Mauno Pekkala of the SKDL. Within a short space of time, the government promulgated over a score of social welfare Acts and launched some

economic recovery projects. Unemployment decreased. There were big changes in Finland's foreign policy line, particularly in the field of Soviet-Finnish relations. Ten anti-fascist coalition nations signed a peace treaty with Finland on February 10, 1947. The conclusion of the Soviet-Finnish Agreement of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance on April 6, 1948, was a historic development.

Rightist forces sought to impede the Pekkala Government's conduct of a democratic domestic policy and a peace-seeking course in international affairs. They charged the Cabinet with an inability to overcome economic difficulties. A one-party Social Democratic government under Karl-August Fagerholm was formed in July 1948. The new government put forward a "third option" platform, held up democratic reforms and attempted to alter the foreign policy line.

The nation's economic situation deteriorated in the late 1940s. As the working people's condition worsened, strike struggles intensified. There was a dramatic development in the summer of 1949 at the timber processing plant in Kemi where workers had their pay rates cut down. Close on 5,000 workers went on strike. Police were brought into action against them.

There was a relatively favourable economic situation in the 1950s and 1960s, with high growth rates. One factor largely conducive to Finland's economic expansion was a high demand for some of her export items. Finland was establishing herself as an industrialised capitalist country.

The political situation was characterised by a close confrontation between the forces of reaction and progress. Urho K. Kekkonen was elected President in 1956. He consistently advocated the continued foreign policy course of friendship and co-operation with the USSR. This course has gone down in history as the "Paasikivi-Kekkonen line".

There were changes in the SDPF in the early 1960, with moderate elements taking over as leadership. The changes in the SDPF created new opportunities for the co-operation of democratic parties. The coalition government that was in office from 1966 to 1971 was that of the Social Democratic Party, the SKDL, the

Social Democratic Alliance, workers and small-time land-owners and the Centre Party (as the Agrarian Union began to be called from 1965). The four-party coalition government encountered considerable economic difficulties. A major devaluation of the Finnish mark (by 31.25 per cent) was carried out in October 1967. In 1968, the Parliament approved a Taxation Reform Act. All those undertakings responded to monopoly interests. True, under CPF pressure, the government improved labour legislation, raised pensions and allowances for certain categories and expanded housing construction. Further headway was made in the public sector of the economy, but none in ending monopoly rule. This sharpened differences inside the government coalition and within the CPF, which caused the coalition to fall apart in the long run by the late 1960s.

Finland's foreign policy was one of keeping up and advancing the relationship with the USSR and broadening mutually beneficial co-operation with it. The USSR and Finland signed trade agreements which made economic links between the two countries more stable. Both countries attached great importance to the Agreement of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance, which was prolonged for 20 years in September 1955. In the 1960s, the USSR and Finland widened the scope of their co-operation in the construction of large industrial, power and other projects. Finland's international authority was rising. In 1955, she became a UN member and joined the Nordic Council. Finland gave great attention to the problems of security in Europe, notably in its North. In May 1963, Kekkonen proposed declaring Northern Europe a nuclear-free zone.

There was a slowdown of growth rates in Finland in the 1970s in consequence of the deteriorating world economic situation. However, the adverse effect of that situation was made up by Finland's stable trading and economic co-operation with the USSR. From 1974 on, the USSR became Finland's major trading partner.

The nation's political life in the 1970s was marked off by a sharpening social and inter-party struggle and remained unstable. Governments succeeded each other. The SKDL formed part of some of them. Right-wing bourgeois parties pressed for the President to be replaced.

However, Urho K. Kekkonen invariably had the majority support.

The condition of Finland's working people was compounded by the instability of economic development, rising inflation and cost of living, and rapidly growing unemployment (175,000 by late 1978). Therefore, there were continued mass actions by working people for higher wages and better terms of collective bargaining agreements.

The rightist forces never desisted from their attempts at reversing the country's foreign policy course. However, they were futile. Moreover, Finland made a notable contribution towards promoting the process of international detente. The entire early half of the 1970s saw her engaged in preparing and holding the European conference. In 1975, Helsinki was the venue for the final stage of the Conference on Security and Co-operation at which the historic Final Act was signed. The government of Finland supported the idea to call a European Disarmament Conference.

Finnish-Soviet relations made good progress during the years of detente. A protocol was signed on July 20, 1970, for the ahead-of-term prolongation of the Agreement of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and Finland for 20 years. Steady headway was made in trading and economic co-operation between the two countries. On May 16, 1973, Finland signed an agreement with the CMEA on co-operation in various areas of economy, science and engineering.

The early 1980s saw a decline in Finland's business activity owing, in part, to crisis developments in the economies of Western Europe.

There was no major change in the alignment of the nation's political forces. Urho K. Kekkonen, because of his advanced age, asked to be relieved of the office of President. Mauno Koivisto of the SDPF was elected President by 167 electoral votes on January 26, 1982. In February, Kalevi Sorsa formed a new government of representatives of the SDPF, SKDL and the Centre Party. The government set out, first and foremost, to improve the economic situation. It reduced taxes on industrial investments, cut the employers' deductions for



social welfare, insurance pension payments and tax deductions from wages. The Parliament approved measures to balance the pension rates for various population groups. The minimum monthly pension rate was raised. In December 1982, the Communist Ministers left the government because of differences over budget appropriations. That brought to an end the Communists' lasting involvement in government.

The subsequent parliamentary elections of March 1983, reaffirmed the trends in political life which had emerged over the preceding years. The new coalition government of Kalevi Sorsa, formed in May 1983, put forward a programme to combat inflation and unemployment and to intensify the competitive power of Finnish industry. However, in actual practice, the government went on cutting down expenses for social welfare, the pensions scheme and employment promotion. Certain reforms projected by the earlier governments were postponed.

In the context of increased international tension in the 1980s, Finland's commitment to preserving and advancing detente assumed added significance. At the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament in 1982, Finland proposed concluding an international treaty for the prevention of nuclear war.

Good-neighbourly relations between Finland and the USSR continued to be developed and deepened.

## Chapter 6

# THE COUNTRIES OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGION\*

### § 1. Japan

After the end of the war, Japan was occupied by American forces. The USA sought to turn her into a dependent state, knock her out of world markets as a competitor, and use her as a military-strategic bridge-head. On the other hand, the Soviet Union pressed for Japan to be demilitarised and democratised. Large sections of the Japanese population demanded democratic social and economic reforms. The US Administration had to agree to some, unable to disregard the mood of Japanese and world opinion.

The Army was disbanded, secret political police abolished, and political prisoners set at liberty. The propaganda of militarism and jingoism was banned. The Civil Service and political organisations were purged of the devotees of the old regime. War criminals, including several former premiers, were put on trial and punished.

The victors agreed on the formation of a democratic government in Japan. However, the American occupation authorities, under the command of Douglas MacArthur, preserved the power of monopoly capital in Japan. In October 1945, they approved the formation of the Shidehara Government which did nothing to improve the social and political situation in the country and to provide it with a stable food supply. The rates of recovering industrial production were extremely low. There were close on 10 million unemployed. Inflation was fast growing, and wages and salaries falling.

The government's policy was opposed by large sections of the population and democratic parties and organisations

\* The socialist countries of Asia were considered in Chapter 4.

social welfare, insurance pension payments and tax deductions from wages. The Parliament approved measures to balance the pension rates for various population groups. The minimum monthly pension rate was raised. In December 1982, the Communist Ministers left the government because of differences over budget appropriations. That brought to an end the Communists' lasting involvement in government.

The subsequent parliamentary elections of March 1983, reaffirmed the trends in political life which had emerged over the preceding years. The new coalition government of Kalevi Sorsa, formed in May 1983, put forward a programme to combat inflation and unemployment and to intensify the competitive power of Finnish industry. However, in actual practice, the government went on cutting down expenses for social welfare, the pensions scheme and employment promotion. Certain reforms projected by the earlier governments were postponed.

In the context of increased international tension in the 1980s, Finland's commitment to preserving and advancing detente assumed added significance. At the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament in 1982, Finland proposed concluding an international treaty for the prevention of nuclear war.

Good-neighbourly relations between Finland and the USSR continued to be developed and deepened.

## Chapter 6 THE COUNTRIES OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGION\*

### § 1. Japan

After the end of the war, Japan was occupied by American forces. The USA sought to turn her into a dependent state, knock her out of world markets as a competitor, and use her as a military-strategic bridge-head. On the other hand, the Soviet Union pressed for Japan to be demilitarised and democratised. Large sections of the Japanese population demanded democratic social and economic reforms. The US Administration had to agree to some, unable to disregard the mood of Japanese and world opinion.

The Army was disbanded, secret political police abolished, and political prisoners set at liberty. The propaganda of militarism and jingoism was banned. The Civil Service and political organisations were purged of the devotees of the old regime. War criminals, including several former premiers, were put on trial and punished.

The victors agreed on the formation of a democratic government in Japan. However, the American occupation authorities, under the command of Douglas MacArthur, preserved the power of monopoly capital in Japan. In October 1945, they approved the formation of the Shidehara Government which did nothing to improve the social and political situation in the country and to provide it with a stable food supply. The rates of recovering industrial production were extremely low. There were close on 10 million unemployed. Inflation was fast growing, and wages and salaries falling.

The government's policy was opposed by large sections of the population and democratic parties and organisations

\* The socialist countries of Asia were considered in Chapter 4.

which had appeared after the end of the war. The Communist Party of Japan started to operate legally in October 1945, from a platform of action for peace, land, liberty and popular representation. The next one to resume activity was the Socialist Party of Japan. Bourgeois parties: Liberal, Progressive and Co-operative parties were formed. The resurgence of trade unions was a development of great importance. Two unions—the National Federation of Trade Unions and the All-Japan Congress of Industrial Unions sprang up in 1946. They at once got involved in the struggle for the interests of the working class, pressing for workers' control to be established at enterprises. A Japanese Peasant Union was formed in the same year. Women's, youth and other community organisations appeared.

Their political activity was manifest in the course of election campaigns. The parliamentary election of April 10, 1946 gave a relative majority to the Liberal Party. Its leader, Shigeru Yoshida, formed the government. His economic stabilisation plan provided for wholesale dismissals of workers on the grounds of rationalisation. Working people reacted to it with large-scale strikes, risings and anti-government demonstrations. The Labour Relations Adjustment Law restricted the freedom of strike action in September 1946. But that did not help arrest the class struggles. A general strike was called for February 1, 1947, which was, however, banned by the American authorities.

Nevertheless, working people's action led to an early parliamentary election. In the run-up to it, the Progressive and part of the Liberal Party created a Japan Democratic Party. The Liberals came to be called a Democratic Liberal Party. The Socialist Party gained a relative majority in the elections of April 25, 1947. That attested to the defeat of the former government's course.

The coalition government was first headed by a Socialist, Tetsu Katayama, and then by the leader of the Democratic Party, Hitoshi Ashida. Katayama attempted to overcome the crisis through emergency measures and establish control over wages and prices. Ashida banked on attracting foreign capital for national economic recovery.

New democratic reforms, comprising a Constitution

and agrarian laws, were put through in Japan in 1946-1947. The new Constitution, effective as from May 3, 1947, introduced democratic liberties and restricted the Emperor's rights. Article 9 of the Constitution committed Japan to renouncing the use of armed force for all time as a means of resolving international conflicts. The Constitution contained labour provisions establishing, in particular, an 8-hour working day and safety regulations.

An agrarian reform was carried out in 1948-1949. It limited landownership to 3 hectares (10 hectares in Hokkaido). Big landed estates were abolished. Certain restrictions were imposed on major monopolies within the framework of the democratic process. Major war criminals were convicted at the Tokyo International tribunal in 1946-1948.

But the "spring" of democratisation was short-lived. There was a turn in US occupation policy in 1948 and, at the same time, a change in the alignment of the nation's political forces, as indicated by the parliamentary election of January 29, 1949. It was won by the Democratic Liberal Party. Shigeru Yoshida once more found himself at the head of the government. The Socialist Party suffered a dismal failure. In that period, the USA launched an economic stabilisation programme in Japan, which signified the resurgence of Japanese monopolies. A campaign of whitewashing war criminals got under way, as did an offensive against the democratic rights of the working people.

The war in Korea put Japan's economic activity into higher gear. She got involved in the shipment of American troops over to the frontline and the repair of military equipment. The decision of August 10, 1950 created a reserve police force, starting off the reconstitution of the Army. The offensive against democracy mounted appreciably. There was a virtual ban on the activities of the Communist Party. Many progressive-minded people were arrested and sacked. The Japanese Affiliates Liaison Council was disbanded in August 1950.

A separate treaty of the USA and its allies with Japan was signed in San Francisco on September 8, 1951. The USSR and some other countries refused to sign it. A Security Treaty between the United States of America

and Japan was signed at the same time. Under it, the USA obtained the right to create an unlimited number of bases on Japanese territory and to keep any troop contingents there. The term of the treaty was not stipulated. And, although the agreement implied turning over all power in the country to the Japanese government, the USA assured itself the leverage by which to control its economic, political and military activities.

After the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, Japan concluded with the USA a Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation (1953), a Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement (1954), an Agreement for Co-operation Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy (1955) and an Agreement to facilitate interchange of patent rights and technical information for military purposes (1956). There was a long-term plan for US-Japan co-operation.

In the 1950s, Japan set about rearming itself, although in lesser proportions than some other countries. The Police Reserve Corps was reorganised into a Self-Defence Corps and then into Self-Defence Forces. Such a policy of the Japanese government aroused the protest of the working class and peace-seeking sections of public opinion. Mass anti-war demonstrations took place in Japanese cities in 1952. Large population groups were getting involved in a drive to compel the withdrawal of all American troops from Japan. A movement against atomic death developed far and wide. The American H-bomb test explosion in the area of the Bikini Atoll in 1954 affected Japanese fishermen. That set off an outburst of indignation throughout Japan. A total of 34 million signatures were collected within a short space of time under an appeal for a nuclear arms ban. A Japanese National Council Against Nuclear Weapons appeared in 1955. At the same time, democratic forces were in action to defend Article 3 of the Constitution forbidding the country's militarisation.

In the face of a mounting working-class, democratic and anti-war movement, Japan's ruling circles realigned their political forces. On December 7, 1954, Yoshida had to resign. The post of head of government was taken over by Ichiro Hatoyama, the leader of the Democratic Party which had been created shortly before

that. In November 1955, the Liberal and Democratic parties merged to form a Liberal Democratic Party of Japan.

In 1955, Japan's industrial production surpassed the highest pre-war and wartime levels. The years 1955-1957 saw Japan going through a process of fast economic expansion and turning into a rival of the USA. That also implied strengthening her independence.

With the international situation changing for the better, Hatoyama moved towards normalising relations with the USSR. In 1956, the USSR and Japan agreed on ending the state of war and established diplomatic relations between them. A number of other agreements were also concluded. But no peace treaty was yet signed, because Japan had laid territorial claims against the USSR, demanding the transfer of four Kurile Islands. Nevertheless, the normalisation of Soviet-Japanese relations was a major diplomatic development. Soon afterwards, Japan established diplomatic relations with other socialist countries as well. In December 1956, she was admitted to the UN. Japan also accepted to pay out reparations to Burma, the Philippines, and Indonesia, and concluded a number of agreements with the countries of South-East Asia. Japanese capital began to penetrate the countries of the region.

Hatoyama's self-determined course met with resistance both from the USA and Japan's own ruling establishment. For that reason, Hatoyama resigned in December 1956. Nobusuke Kishi became head of government on February 25, 1957. He gave great attention to promoting Japan's economic expansionism in the Asian and Pacific region ("economic diplomacy").

A "new era in American-Japanese relations" was proclaimed in 1957. The drafting of a Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security Between the USA and Japan got under way. It was opposed by large sections of the Japanese population. Twenty million signed the petition for the "security treaty" to be scrapped. Yet the new treaty was signed on January 19, 1960. It laid accent on the military partnership and co-operation of Japan and the USA. However, the initial effect of the treaty was to bring down the Kishi Government on June 23, 1960.



In the 1960s, the Japanese economy was fast growing. Industrial production increased by 269.5 per cent in the space of ten years. There were deep-going structural changes in the economy. The concentration of capital and production led to the creation of six potent financial monopoly groups. In 1968, Japan ranked second in the capitalist world in terms of the aggregate social product. Her exports increased, as did her foreign exchange reserves. Japanese capital invaded the markets of Asia, Africa and Latin America and became a formidable rival for the vested interests of the USA and other imperialist states.

There were notable changes in the social structure of the population. The number of workers and urban middle classes rose considerably while that of the peasantry dwindled. Contradictions between labour and capital sharpened. In a close-fought class struggle, factory and office workers secured pay increases, up to 3.2-fold in the space of ten years. But, at the same time, the cost of living was growing, the sweatshop system intensified, and unemployment rose. Strike struggles, student unrest and the anti-war movement were expanding throughout the country.

Military spending was on the rise. This went on along with a reactionary offensive against the democratic rights and freedoms of the people. A national holiday—the Day of the Foundation of the State, which was instituted in 1967, was used to cultivate the worship of imperial rule. Reactionary officers' organisations (like the Comradeship-in-Arms) were springing up.

Japan's foreign policy was geared towards building up the military-political alliance with the USA. Under an agreement achieved in 1969, the US-Japan Security Treaty was prolonged. Japan lent the USA considerable assistance in the prosecution of the war in Vietnam. The Asian dimension assumed growing importance for Japanese industrial circles. Therefore, in 1962, Japan and the PRC signed a memorandum on the promotion of private trade between the two countries. A Basic Relations Treaty between Japan and South Korea was concluded in 1965. Soviet-Japanese relations, particularly economic and commercial, made headway.

The working-class and democratic movement became

more active in the 1960s. The unions were fighting for better working conditions and higher wages. The working class vehemently protested against the American aggression in Vietnam, against the conclusion of Japan's treaty with South Korea and against the prolongation of the US-Japan Security treaty. The "spring" and "autumn" offensives of working people became an increasingly serious form of struggle. They involved 8 million in 1970. The student movement became more active in the late 1960s. Communists, Socialists and other democratic forces were pressing for a united front to be established. In a number of cases, particularly in the course of municipal elections, these tactics brought tangible success to the left forces.

In the early 1970s, Japan's economic growth rates slowed down. In the mid-1970s, her economy found itself in a deep crisis. This entailed widespread enterprise failures and higher unemployment. The sharpening class contradictions and discontent with the government's economic policy led to the LDP influence falling. Yet the LDP invariably remained the ruling party throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

The social situation in Japan remained strained. There were over a million unemployed in 1976 and just about two million in 1986. Working people were upholding their vital interests. They demanded a reduction of unemployment, employment guarantees, higher wages and social and democratic reforms. This movement involved about nine million people.

Economic and commercial co-operation between the USSR and Japan was positively developing in the late 1970s. It comprised new forms, such as agreements by way of compensatory trade, for the development of the natural resources of Siberia and the Far East.

Japan's foreign policy underwent certain modification at the turn of the 1980s. The Japanese government chose to depart from any commitment to international detente. Anti-Soviet trends came back to life, and so did militarist forces. The 270,000-strong self-defence forces, virtually converted into a regular army, were being equipped with the latest types of weaponry. The Japanese side laid territorial claims against the USSR. In 1977, the USSR proposed concluding a treaty of

week, more jobs and a change-over to a foreign policy of peace.

An anti-war movement emerged and was gaining ground in Australia. In April 1950, the peace activists held an All-Australian Congress in Melbourne which started off an organised anti-war movement. Peace committees were being set up everywhere, sailors', dockers', building trades workers', mine-workers', rolled steel workers', blacksmiths', engineers', painters' and meat industry workers' unions came out in support of the Appeal of the World Peace Council for a ban on atomic weapons. Australian Communists took part in the strike struggles as well as in the anti-war and democratic movement. The Communist Party put forward a slogan for the unity of all workers, irrespective of their party affiliation and religious convictions, in the struggle against the employers.

In the conduct of its foreign policy the Liberal-Agrarian government broadened co-operation with the United States. Australia entered the ANZUS Council (the military-political association of Australia, New Zealand and the USA), and joined the SEATO. Australia never broke with the British Commonwealth of Nations and participated in its conferences. Soviet-Australian relations in the 1950s were rather strained. Moreover, diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off in April 1954, in view of the anti-Soviet campaign launched in Australia. It was as late as March 1959 that they were restored. In the 1960s, Australian soldiers were involved in hostilities against the South Vietnamese patriots.

Australia's economic links with China and Japan increased considerably. An Asian Pacific Council (ASPAC) was created in 1966 with the participation of Australia, Japan, New Zealand, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan as well as South Vietnam. Australia became more active also in Oceania, above all in New Zealand.

The militarist policy of the Australian government provoked a further upsurge of the anti-war movement. Scores of meetings and demonstrations took place in 1965-1966, comprising a collection of signatures to petitions demanding the return of the Australian troops

from Vietnam. The role of the trade unions in the anti-war movement rose. The Labour Party and part of the Liberals came out against the war in Vietnam.

There was a slow down of Australian economic growth in the early 1970s. A severe economic crisis hit Australia in 1974-1975. The deterioration of the economic situation had the effect of aggravating social contradictions and intensifying differences within the major political parties. There was a further upsurge of the strike movement. The discontent of the farming community was growing. There were continued anti-war actions by peace activists demanding an end to the war in Indochina.

The influence of the Liberal and Country parties was heavily undermined. There were growing differences between the members of the government coalition, and contradictions erupted inside the Liberal Party. That led among other things, to the creation of a new party in July 1969—the Australian Party which brought together some Liberals opposed to the policy of the Liberal Party leadership. The new party pressed for Australia to conduct an independent foreign policy, pull Australian troops out of Vietnam, withdraw the nation from the ANZUS and SEATO blocs, and get foreign bases on Australian territory dismantled.

The parliamentary elections of December 2, 1972 were won by the Labour Party. Gough Whitlam became head of government. One of his first acts was to end selective conscription and liberate all those who had been convicted for their refusal to serve in the army. The government imposed control over foreign investments and revalued the Australian dollar in relation to the American. Old-age and disability pensions were increased, and considerable resources were provided with a view to ending unemployment. The government launched a more progressive policy in respect of the aborigines. The working people were satisfied with the new programmes of promoting health service, education, protection and defence of natural resources and housing construction. Workers received quarterly wage adjustments to match the rising prices.

The foreign policy of the Labour government was directed towards consolidating Australia's independence in international affairs. The Whitlam Government had

pulled the Australian contingent out of South Vietnam by February 1973, and then recalled its military advisers from there, recognised the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of China, and established diplomatic relations with these countries. In March 1973, the USSR and Australia signed an agreement to promote trade and economic links between them.

A coalition of the Liberal and Country parties once more came to power in the context of an economic crisis. The new Liberal-Agrarian government was headed in 1975 by Malcolm Fraser. The government of the Liberal-Agrarian Coalition concentrated its efforts on getting the country out of the crisis. It stimulated increased employer investment in new businesses and expanding production. Social spending was slashed, and the national health service system pared down. The government pushed a number of anti-labour laws through Parliament, notably banning civil servants from strike action.

The workers replied to the Fraser Government's monopoly policy by stepping up their struggle in defence of their social interests. One important event in 1972 was the creation of the Socialist Party of Australia which set about working hard for peace and detente, against the arms race and against US military bases, and denounced Australia's involvement in the war in Indochina.

In international affairs, the government shifted rightward. As a matter of fact, it refused to have a nuclear-free zone declared in Australia and the South Pacific region. Australian foreign policy was increasingly dominated by relations with Japan. An Australian-Japanese Basic Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation was signed in June 1976. Relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries under the Liberal-Agrarian Coalition government were restrained.

From the early 1980s, Australia faced mounting economic difficulties. The crisis developments in the economy attested to the failure of the economic policies of the Liberal-Agrarian coalition. The growing contradictions in the nation and within the Liberal Party caused the Fraser Government to fall. The early parliamentary elections on March 5, 1983 were won by Labour headed by the new leader, prominent trade unionist Robert

Hawke. The new government made certain positive changes in the nation's home and foreign policies. Labour put forward a Plan for National Restoration and Reconstruction which provided for consistent economic expansion, improvement of the condition of the poorest sections of the population, and creation of 500,000 jobs. A decision was taken in September 1983 to raise wages and salaries by 4.3 per cent. More was spent to meet the social welfare needs of the aborigines. A state medical insurance system was introduced as from February 1984.

Yet not even in that period was there any let-up in the strike struggles. The aborigines also pressed harder for the recognition of their right to the so-called traditional lands, i.e. those they lived in. Peace activists redoubled their efforts.

The Hawke Labour Government kept its sights set on political and military-strategic co-operation with the USA and reaffirmed Australia's loyalty to the ANZUS, while declaring itself at the same time for the nation's greater independence in foreign affairs. It did not support the US line of whipping up international tension, took a more realistic view of the issue of arms control and spoke up for the Indian Ocean to be made a zone of peace. During his visit to the USA in 1985, Prime Minister Hawke registered his disagreement with any project that would mean taking the arms race out into space. In December 1986, Australia ratified the Rarotonga Treaty declaring the South Pacific a denuclearised zone.

Another positive element was the stand the government of Australia had taken up on the political settlement of the Kampuchean issue. Australia lifted sanctions against the USSR in respect of economic, scientific and cultural links, imposed by the Fraser Government in 1980.

New Zealand. In the post-war years, New Zealand remained an agrarian-industrial nation. Its agriculture, predominant as it was in the economy, was distinguished by a high level of development. It was dominated by large-scale mechanised farms. New Zealand led the world as a butter exporter, came second in wool exports, and second and then third in meat and cheese exports.

The Labour Party, which had been in power since 1935, wielded notable influence in New Zealand's political

life after the end of the war. Labour leaned on the trade unions and were popular mostly in industrial regions. The opposition force confronting them was the National Party representing the big bourgeoisie and the farmers. Its influence was particularly manifest among the residents of the countryside and small towns.

While in office, Labour conducted a policy of state intervention in, and control of, the economy. In 1945, they compelled a decision to establish state control over the Bank of New Zealand. A system of public control over the working conditions in the private sector (Factories Act) was introduced in 1946. In 1948, they passed an Economic Stabilisation Act, introducing control over the prices of goods and services and fixing the size of rent and other payments. The methods of government intervention aroused the discontent of the big bourgeoisie.

As the international situation became more involved because of the Cold War, the Labour government began to depart from a progressive course. That led to more social contradictions.

New Zealand had 100,000 natives—Maori people. There was a certain discrimination against them. The Maoris were on the move for national equality. The Maori organisation, the Ratana Independent Movement was pressing for self-rule by their people.

The Labour Party suffered a defeat in the parliamentary elections in November 1949. They were won by the National Party, which promised to lower taxes and take measures against inflation. The new government was headed by S. G. Holland, the leader of the National Party.

The National Party government at once cancelled state control over prices and imports. That entailed a growing rate of inflation, while the standard of living declined. These factors antagonized the masses against the government's policy. The port workers began a national strike in February 1951. They were supported by the workers of meat-packing plants and miners of the West Coast. The situation became so strained that the government introduced a state of emergency to suppress the strike.

An economic recession began in 1957, following the fall of world market prices on New Zealand butter.

The influence of the National Party ebbed away. It suffered a defeat in the parliamentary elections of November 29, 1957. The new Labour government was headed by Walter Nash. In search of a way out of the crisis state of the economy, the new government put up corporate taxes as well as indirect taxes on consumer goods. Appropriations for social security were increased.

Labour gave great attention to the country's industrial development. The programme they adopted in May 1959, provided for the construction of steel plants and oil refineries and laying in a state fund for industrialisation. In this way, the government expected to diminish New Zealand's external dependence. However, Labour gained no majority in the 1960 elections.

The National Party, now in power, remained at the helm throughout the 1960s. Keith Holyoake (the new National Party leader) kept up the commitment to industrial development. At the same time, he was putting up military spending which aggravated the country's hard economic condition. Working people intensified their struggle for their vital interests.

A Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand was formed in 1966. It became the vanguard force in the struggle for peace and the social interests of working people.

In foreign affairs, New Zealand sought, above all, co-operation with Great Britain. At the same time, its links with the USA were building up. In 1950, the National Party government supported the US war in Korea. New Zealand entered ANZUS in 1951 and SEATO, in 1954. In the 1960s, the government supported the US war in Vietnam. Great interest in establishing relations with New Zealand was shown by Japan. In 1958, both countries established diplomatic relations and signed a trade agreement. Steady headway was made in the political co-operation between New Zealand and Australia. In 1969, they signed a defence agreement. Relations with the Soviet Union were growing more active.

Western Samoa was granted independence on January 1, 1962. The Cook Islands obtained internal self-government in 1965.

Peace activists staged demonstrations of protest against the country's involvement in the combat operations in



Vietnam. The New Zealand Federation of Labour demanded total withdrawal from that war. The Labour Party also declared itself against the shipment of troops to Vietnam. Yet it was as late as August 1970 that New Zealand began pulling its troops out.

There was growing economic and political instability in the 1970s. Repercussions of the world economic crisis of 1974-1975 reached New Zealand as well.

The parliamentary elections of November 25, 1972 brought victory to Labour. On December 8, the Labour Party leader, Norman Kirk, formed a new government. Much emphasis in his activities was put on anti-inflation measures. However, an attempt to carry them through at the expense of working people met with resistance from the trade unions. Great attention was given to improving the foreign trade situation. The government moved to raise old-age pensions and wages, impose price controls and certain profit restrictions. In September 1974, following the death of Kirk, Wallace E. Rowling became the Labour Party leader and Prime Minister. He introduced a new system of social security and a new pensions scheme in April 1975. The slowdown of economic growth rates and rising inflation nullified the Labour government's moves to meet working people's demands. Factory and office workers went on expressing their discontent and staging strikes. The Maori people were also fighting on for improved economic conditions.

Labour suffered a defeat in the parliamentary elections on November 29, 1975. On December 12, 1975, the leader of the National Party, Robert Muldoon, formed a government which veered to the right in its domestic and foreign policies. The policy conducted by that government resulted in a considerable deterioration of the material condition of working people. In consequence, there was a yet closer confrontation between the government and employers, on the one hand, and working people, on the other.

The anti-war movement went into higher gear in the latter half of the 1970s. It called for a boycott of the companies operating in the region and involved in nuclear arms production.

New Zealand's foreign policy in 1970s was anything but consistent. Great Britain's entry into the EEC made

it much harder for New Zealand to sell its products. New Zealand gave more attention to promoting relations with ANZUS and the countries of the Pacific region. In August 1971, it joined a regional organisation—the South Pacific Forum. Its relations with Australia had a considerable part to play in its foreign policy.

In the early 1980s, New Zealand's economy was in the grip of a near-crisis depression. The orientation of its foreign trade changed. Great Britain, which had ranked first in the country's foreign trade turnover until 1980, yielded ground to other trading partners—Australia, the USA and Japan.

In June 1982, the government reintroduced control over wages and prices. This control was lifted for a short space of time in 1984, but then the wages were again frozen for an unspecified term. The growing contradictions between the government and large sections of working people and all democratic forces caused the National Party to be defeated in a parliamentary election in July 1984. Labour, obtaining a majority, formed a government under David Lange, their leader. Labour quashed anti-union legislation, expanded public works to reduce unemployment and raised wages. However, the cost of living continued to rise.

The anti-war movement in New Zealand moved a stage ahead in the 1980s. There were growing protests against the port calls by American warships with nuclear weapons on board. Peace activists were also demanding New Zealand's withdrawal from ANZUS and the proclamation of the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone. In December 1985, the Labour government passed an Act forbidding the port calls in New Zealand by atomic-powered or nuclear-armed foreign warships. Together with a number of other countries, New Zealand approved the Rarotonga Treaty for creating a nuclear-free zone in the region.

### § 3. The Countries of South and South-East Asia

*India.* During the war, India saw its industry expand, its bourgeoisie strengthen and its working class increase numerically. At the same time, the positions of British capital were somewhat weakened. There was an economic

downturn after the end of the war. Raw materials and foodstuffs were in short supply. That meant straining the national situation. Besides, the upsurge of the revolutionary and liberation movement involved India's national forces.

The workers rose from the middle of 1945. So did the students. In some places, strikes and demonstrations involved armed clashes with police and troops. In the autumn of 1945, national forces came out against the dispatch of the units of the Anglo-Indian army to suppress the liberation movements in the French and Dutch colonies of South-East Asia. The national forces also protested against the trial, which began in November 1945, of a group of Indian officers who had served in the ranks of the Indian national army in Japanese-occupied Burma during the war. There were rebellions both in the army and navy in February 1946, which were supported by workers of the country's largest cities. The attempts of the British to put down the mutiny by force of arms did not succeed. However, hundreds of people were killed and thousands wounded as the general strikes were suppressed. The movement drew in the peasant mass as well. They started some guerrilla warfare in Bengal in 1946. In Hyderabad, the peasants created some institutions of people's rule. The Indian National Congress, Muslim League and the Communist Party were active in anti-British risings.

Britain's Labour government was seriously worried and promised to grant India dominion status. At the negotiations in March to May, 1946, the British representatives spoke out, as a matter of fact, for India to be broken up on religious grounds.

There were elections for the Constituent Assembly in India in June 1946. The Muslim League boycotted them and urged fighting for an independent state—Pakistan. A provisional government under Jawaharlal Nehru was formed after the election. On June 3, 1947, the British published a Mountbatten Plan (named after the newly-appointed viceroy of India), providing for India to be divided into two dominions: the Indian Union and Pakistan. This plan came into effect as the Indian Independence Bill on August 15, 1947.

India (the Indian Union) entered a new stage of its

development. The last British military contingents left the country in February 1948. In the civil service, the British were being replaced by Indians. The unification of principalities with India was an important measure towards national unity. That was an involved process. An armed conflict broke out between India and Pakistan over the Principality of Kashmir (Jammu and Kashmir) in the autumn of 1947. It continued into 1948. Kashmir was incorporated in India, but Pakistan challenged that decision.

The division of India into two dominions was accompanied by a large-scale resettlement of Muslims and Hindus, particularly in the border areas. A Hindu-Muslim strife began. Mahatma Gandhi, an outstanding leader of the national liberation movement of India, vehemently protested against it. In revenge, a man from a Hindu nationalist organisation killed Gandhi in January 1948.

The Indian Union, upon the division, was experiencing serious economic and financial difficulties. Economic links between the two parts of India were disrupted. A trade war was on. The Nehru Government concentrated its efforts on overcoming the consequences of the country's division. A course to promote a mixed economy was mapped out. Great emphasis was laid on creating a public sector. The economic situation had been somewhat stabilised by 1949. It was at that time, too, that India's positive foreign policy line of anti-colonialism, peace, neutrality and non-alignment was charted.

India was declared a sovereign republic on January 26, 1950, under the Constitution drafted and approved by the Constituent Assembly. The difficulties which had arisen from the division of the former colony into two states had been essentially eliminated by that time. The task now before the nation was one of consolidating its political independence and assuring its economic self-determination. An agrarian reform, under which the big landlords had upwards of 60 per cent of their land taken away from them, was a matter of great importance in the early half of the 1950s. The state turned those lands over to the peasants who paid out a rent or bought up the plots. The agrarian reform weakened the positions of the big landowners.

Yet another important problem which India started

to resolve was industrialisation. Five-year plans for economic development which were launched in 1951 provided for new industries, above all heavy industry, to be created. In that process, the emphasis was laid on promoting the public sector in industry. Private capitalist enterprise was also expanding along with it. Foreign investment, particularly in manufacturing industry, was on the increase. An extensive public sector formed in industry within a short space of time. A major monopoly top crust (like Tata and Birla) took shape in the private sector.

India's political process was in the making. A host of parties and organisations were formed. Close on 80 political parties were involved in the first general elections (for Parliament and the Legislative Assembly of the States) in 1951-1952. The elections were won by the Indian National Congress which polled 44.5 per cent of the total vote. Right-wing Socialists and Communists came next.

Communists, trade unions and peasant associations had a greater freedom of action as democratic practices were implanted. In 1951, the Communist Party worked out a new programme. Ajoy Ghosh was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPI. Communists dropped their demand for the replacement of the government as an immediate objective. There was a certain upsurge of the strike struggles in the latter half of the 1950s. Tata workers in Jamshedpur went on strike in 1958. That strike, like some others, was of national importance. A movement to create ethnically-based states got under way in India in the 1950s. The 1956 Act on a new administrative territorial division of India was a stage ahead in this respect. Yet another dramatic issue was that of official national language. There were two official state languages in India in those years: Hindi and English. A special commission formed to inquire into the matter arrived at the conclusion that English could not be used for mass education.

The first decade of India's independent development enhanced the authority of the National Congress, which was demonstrated in the second general elections in 1957. The influence of the Communist Party had also increased. In the State of Kerala, the Communists and other left

forces achieved a victory in an election for the State Legislative Assembly and formed a government under E. M. Sankaran Namboodiripad, leader of the State's Communist organisation. The government drew up a project for a radical agrarian reform and other progressive measures. However, the forces of reaction provoked disorders in the state in 1959, and presidential rule was introduced.

In international affairs, India continued to pursue a policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment. She made her contribution to the peaceful settlement in Korea and Indochina. Relations with the Soviet Union were advancing. A Bhilai Steel Plant was built with assistance from the USSR. India established relations with the PRC and settled the Tibet issue in 1954. However, there was a border conflict on the Sino-Indian border in 1959. In 1962, Chinese troops invaded and occupied part of India's border regions, laying unjustified territorial claims against it. India's relations with Pakistan remained involved. As India followed her independent path of economic and political development, there was growing separation of her social and political forces. The National Congress was increasingly opposed by other parties, especially in individual states. Three major factions appeared inside the Congress itself: centre headed by Nehru, the right, by S. K. Patil and Morarji Desai, and the left. Nehru had to wage an uphill battle to retain the centre positions. When he died in 1964, Lal Bahadur Shastri became the new Prime Minister. It was just at that time that a serious economic recession made itself felt in India in the mid-1960s. That brought with it intensified strike struggles. There was a general strike in Bombay in 1966. Peasant risings became more active, and the national, linguistic and religious problems were aggravated. That was the ground for an armed rising by separatists in Assam. In 1967, the Parliament of India passed an Act on three state languages (Hindi, English and local). The Indo-Chinese conflict provoked a split in the Communist movement. Some members broke away from the CPI in 1964 to form another party, CPI (Marxist). That undercut the front of the left forces.

The ever-smouldering Indo-Pakistani conflict resolved

itself in 1965 into an armed confrontation between the two countries. It was Kashmir once again that was the "bone of contention". A peaceful settlement of the conflict was achieved with the mediation of the Soviet Union. Prime Minister Shastri died during his visit to Tashkent where the declaration ending the conflict was signed. Indira Gandhi, the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, was recommended to the post of Prime Minister in a struggle between supporters of the centre and the right. In 1967, Indira Gandhi came forward with a 10-point programme of progressive social-economic change. Under it, 14 major private banks were nationalised in 1969. That compounded the differences between the rightists and the centrists in the National Congress and caused it, as a matter of fact, to break up into two parties: INC (the ruling party) and Congress (organisation). But that did not stop the change started by Gandhi. Government control over the import of a number of commodities was introduced in 1970 and cotton import was nationalised. Some categories of factory and office workers had their wages and salaries increased.

In foreign affairs, Indira Gandhi was more consistent in conducting the policy of non-alignment and promoting relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. India came out at the side of the Arab states which became the object of Israel's aggression in 1967. A Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the Soviet Union and India was concluded in 1971. It was one of no mean importance in the period of formation of the State of Bangladesh and the Indian-Pakistani war in December 1971. The position of the USSR contributed towards ending that war and establishing the State of Bangladesh. Diplomatic relations between India and Pakistan were restored in 1976.

In the 30 years of its independent existence, India developed from a colony with a backward economic structure into an agrarian-industrial nation. Its industrial output more than trebled. Notable headway was made in heavy industry and power engineering. A public sector appeared, accounting for about 15 per cent of the gross national product. A series of farm modernisation measures (the Green Revolution) helped expand the grain harvest and improve the food situation.

Yet the country still had many issues to deal with. A large proportion (70 per cent) of the population was engaged in agriculture, which attested to a certain backwardness of economic and social development. Twenty-two per cent of the peasants had no land, and 62 per cent possessed only small plots. There were still upwards of 10 million unemployed. Only 29.5 per cent of the population could read and write. Large monopolies which had emerged in the nation sought to bring both the economy and politics under their control. Unequal property relations were being aggravated. India was experiencing a strong impact of the world capitalist economy.

The situation in India sharply deteriorated from the mid-1970s. The opposition parties demanded the removal of Indira Gandhi from the post of Prime Minister. In June 1975, the government had to introduce a state of emergency. Government opponents were arrested. Yet that was coupled with a breach of the democratic rights of working people and suppression of strikes and other mass actions. In those circumstances, the opposition parties consolidated their ranks. A bloc of opposition parties—Janata Party (People's Party), the Congress for Democracy, the Akali Party and the Parallel Communist Party formed in 1977. The INC was defeated in the next elections and ceded power to the rightists. Their representative, Morarji Desai, became Prime Minister. The new government declared its intention to continue developing the public sector in the economy but, along with that, to encourage the activities of small-time employers, handicraft industries and agriculture. In foreign affairs, Desai favoured non-alignment, peaceful coexistence and co-operation with all nations.

The changes in India's political life brought on a dramatic crisis in the Indian National Congress. A number of its leaders quit it to join the Janata Party. Indira Gandhi left the INC in January 1978, and, joining forces with her followers, created a new party, Indian National Congress (I). The process of separation encompassed all the state INC organisations throughout the country. Within a short space of time, the INC(I) succeeded in bringing large sections of the population under its influence.



At the same time, the Desai Government failed to resolve the basic social and economic problems and forfeited electoral support. It tendered its resignation ahead of term on July 15, 1979. It was representatives of the INC(I) that won the subsequent early parliamentary elections in January 1980. The left parties gained great success. Indira Gandhi was once again at the head of the government. She declared her intention to follow consistently the Nehru line in domestic and foreign policies. Six private banks were nationalised within a short space of time, the number of fixed price shops increased, and small peasant households received aid. India carried through her sixth five-Year plan for social and economic development in the early half of the 1980s. In January 1982, the government published a 20-point programme to carry through agrarian reforms, lessen social inequality and improve the living conditions of the poorest sections of the population. However, implementation of this programme met with resistance from the rightist forces.

In foreign affairs, India took a number of important steps in the interest of peace and security. She came out for the normalisation of the situation in South Asia, pressed for the Indian Ocean to be made a zone of peace, acted at the side of the people's democratic regime in Afghanistan and deplored interference of Pakistan in its affairs, announced the diplomatic recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, established official diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Kampuchea and made attempts at normalising relations with China. Soviet-Indian relations moved a stage ahead. In March 1983, the capital of India was the venue of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, and India became the chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement for a term of three years.

The social situation in India in the early 1980s remained tense. Prices and unemployment continued to rise, there were more outrages by separatist elements, religious and communal clashes, and unrest among the peasants and the untouchables. A particularly involved situation arose in Punjab, Assam and other north-eastern states. Presidential rule was introduced in Punjab in October 1983.

Army units and police were used against the separatists, demanding the creation of an independent state of Khalistan, and terrorist groups. Indira Gandhi was assassinated on October 31, 1984. It was Sikh separatists that organised the assassination.

Yet they did not succeed in destabilising the situation in India. The new government under Rajiv Gandhi (Indira Gandhi's son) took determined action to restore order and ensure internal security and compliance with the rule of law. The electorate once more gave their support to the INC(I) in December 1984. The government of Rajiv Gandhi sought to assure national unity and territorial integrity. It took urgent measures to improve the material condition of the poor. Great attention was given to modernizing production, enhancing the productivity of labour and combating corruption and bureaucracy. In 1985, the central government signed an agreement with the regional parties in the States of Assam and Punjab for normalising the situation there. However, the subversive elements did not lay down arms. There were more acts of terrorism and outbursts of violence. The economic situation remained involved. There were 27 million unemployed in the country by the end of 1986.

Rajiv Gandhi stuck to his mother's foreign policy course. The USSR and India came forward with a Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World. A new Agreement on Basic Directions of Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technological Co-operation between the USSR and India was signed. The festivals of the USSR in India and of India in the USSR in 1987/1988 were great occasions in the life of both countries. The INC(I) lost the parliamentary elections late in 1989. A coalition of opposition parties took over. The new government was headed by Wishwanath Pratap Singh.

*Indonesia.* A national liberation revolution took place in Indonesia in August 1945. It involved large national forces. By its character it was an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Indonesia was declared independent on August 17, 1945. The interim Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia was adopted in consequence. The first President of the Republic was Ahmed

Sukarno, a prominent political leader. The Constitution was based on Sukarno's five principles—Pancha Shila: nationalism, humanism, democracy, social justice, and religious tolerance. The Constitution proclaimed democratic rights, state control over the key sectors of production, the land, the waters and natural resources. It likewise guaranteed the right to work. Under the Constitution the President received sweeping powers.

Further on, local administrative bodies and armed forces began to be created in Indonesia, while Japanese contingents were disarmed and interned. A rightist Muslim Party, Masjumi, emerged in November 1945. The National Party, with a platform based on the Pancha Shila principles, was brought back to life in January 1946. The Communist Party began to operate legally from October 21, 1945. The Socialist Party, formed in November 1945, and some other organisations were acting in close contact with it. A representative of the Socialist Party, Sutan Sjahrir formed a government in November 1945, with the left forces holding strong positions in it.

The Western countries reacted to the establishment of the Indonesian Republic with hostility. Britain and Holland dispatched their troops there which started combat operations against the Indonesian armed forces. Late in 1946, Britain pulled her forces out of Indonesia in consequence of the protests of world opinion. Holland had to enter into negotiations with the government of the Republic and signed the so-called Lingardjati Agreement on March 25, 1947. Under it, Indonesia agreed to the creation of the United States of Indonesia (incorporating a number of territories beyond the confines of the Republic) and was to have entered the Netherlands-Indonesian Union. That was a compromise arrangement which, however, assured the Indonesian Republic official recognition and a breathing space.

However, Holland broke the agreement that had been signed and laid down take-it-or-leave-it demands for Indonesia. The Sjahrir Government accepted almost all the conditions, but that provoked resentment in Parliament and in the nation. Sjahrir had to resign. The new government had a Communist, Amir Sjarifuddin, at the head of it. He was, in essence, disposed to make the

same concessions. But on July 21, 1947, Holland went to war against the Indonesian Republic. Indonesia's national forces offered a stiff and steadfast resistance to the Dutch aggressors. Once more the Indonesian Republic had all peace forces at its side. In consequence, the Netherlands accepted to negotiate with Indonesia and signed the Renville Agreement on January 17, 1948. Under it, the hostilities ceased, but the Dutch troops stayed on in much of the country. The rightist parties, including Masjumi, denounced Sjarifuddin's actions and he had to step down. On January 29, 1948, Mohammad Hatta became head of government. He announced that he was willing to abide by the Renville Agreement. It became clear that the action of the rightists was directed towards splitting up the national front and undermining the influence of the left.

The Hatta Government set about purging the army and the civil service of Communists. The country's economic situation worsened. The left organised themselves in a National Democratic Front headed by Amir Sjarifuddin. Strikes and demonstrations began in the country. An emergency conference of the CPI held late in August 1948, worked out the strategy and tactics of the struggle. By its decision, the Communist Party merged with the Socialist and Labour Party and the Socialist Youth League. The leader of the amalgamated CPI was M. Musso. Hatta stepped up his attacks against the left forces. Clashes began in September 1948, between the military units strongly influenced by the Communists, and those led by the opposing forces. An anti-government rising began in Madiun. But the Communists were not prepared for it. The authorities cruelly suppressed the rebellion, having shot around 600 Communists, including Musso and Sjarifuddin. The united national front in Indonesia broke apart.

The Dutch were quick to take advantage of that. On December 19, 1948, they resumed hostilities against the Republic. Within a short space of time, they occupied its major centres, arrested Sukarno, Hatta and a number of other political leaders. Republican forces changed over to guerrilla warfare. A movement of solidarity with the Indonesian Republic developed throughout the

world. The Security Council called for a cease-fire and for the release of the arrested leaders of the Republic. Holland had to negotiate with the leaders of Indonesia released from custody. An agreement on the recognition of the United States of Indonesia by the Netherlands and their incorporation in the Netherlands-Indonesian Union was signed at the round table conference at The Hague on August 23-November 2, 1949. The Dutch colonialists hoped to retain their economic and political control over the whole of Indonesia by setting the Indonesian Republic and the puppet entities on the Indonesian islands against each other.

After the round table conference, the Netherlands continued to exploit Indonesia's resources. Foreign capital bore down on the local bourgeoisie. Peasants were returning the lands they had received after the Revolution to their former foreign owners. Inflation and the cost of living in the cities were on the increase. Workers were rising for strike action. There were still objective prerequisites in the country for a common national anti-imperialist front to be created. The national forces went into action to eliminate the federal structure which sapped Indonesia's strength. Within a short space of time, most of the states disbanded themselves and joined the Republic of Indonesia. In some cases, Republican forces had to suppress the resistance of the accomplices of colonialists by force. Indonesia was officially declared a unitary republic on August 16, 1950. It was Western Irian alone that remained outside the confines of the state.

At first it was representatives of the rightist forces, as the Masjumi Party that turned out to be in power. In August 1951 the Indonesian authorities carried out wholesale arrests of Communists and other progressives. In foreign affairs, the Masjumi government took its cue from the USA. But the requirements of social and economic development made it imperative to extend the national revolution. Under pressure from the masses the Masjumi government was replaced by governments based on the National Party (Wilopo, and then Sasroamidjojo). Progressive measures were carried through under those governments. The Dutch military mission was removed from the country. The authorities had

drafted a democratic electoral law. Arrested progressive leaders were set free. The export of capital was banned. Greater aid was given to national enterprises and to the co-operative movement. A public sector in the economy began to be created. The oil-fields in North Sumatra were nationalised. The Communist Party and mass organisations of working people began to operate legally.

Ali Sasroamidjojo followed an independent foreign policy course. The Netherlands-Indonesian Union was severed. Indonesia established diplomatic relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. In 1955, a conference of non-aligned states took place in Bandung. However, the rightist army forces compelled the Sasroamidjojo Government to resign. But it was brought back to power by the 1955 parliamentary elections. In those times, right-wing officers started anti-government rebellions in some places (1956-1957).

In that context, President Sukarno came up on February 21, 1957, with the concept of "guided democracy". He saw it as an instrument whereby, on the one hand, to rally all national forces and, on the other, to consolidate presidential power. In line with this concept, a non-party man, K. Djuanda was called upon to form a government on April 9, 1957. To carry through his plans, Sukarno put the 1945 Constitution into effect in 1959 and dissolved the elected Parliament in 1960. The Socialist Party and Masjumi, which were found to have been implicated in anti-government rebellions, were banned. At the same time, the President appointed a new Parliament made up of representatives of the National Party, the Communist Party and the Nahdatul Ulama (Association of Muslim Clergymen). Besides, the President put himself at the head of the National Front which he had created.

Social and economic change was carried forward. The rental was limited to 50 per cent of the crop, and land tenure to between 5 and 16 hectares of irrigated land. Steps were taken to advance culture, education and health services. Western Irian was incorporated in Indonesia on May 1, 1963. That crowned the struggle for the nation's political independence.

However, the concentration of all power in the President's hands was a drag on democracy. The influence

of the rightist military top crust and Muslim clergy increased. Indonesia entered 1963 with the idea of "crushing" the Federation of Malaysia which had just been created and left the UN in 1965 in protest against the election of the Federation of Malaysia as a permanent member of the Security Council. Furthermore, the country's economic situation drastically worsened, and the working people's standard of living declined. That undercut the positions of the Communist Party which had been solidly behind Sukarno's policy.

In those circumstances, the left forces were provoked into rising. In the early hours of October 1, 1965, a group of officers with support from some of the Communist Party and the National Party arrested and shot several top-ranking military men accused of having conspired against Sukarno. It was announced that power had passed into the hands of a Revolutionary Council. But the latter had no actual backing either from the people or from the Army. Army units under General Suharto cruelly suppressed the rising, striking out, above all, against the Communist Party. Hundreds of thousands of Communists, including most of the CPI leaders, were put to death after a summary court-martial or without any. Suharto was appointed the nation's President in 1967. That was, in fact, a military coup which had a far-reaching effect on Indonesia's subsequent development.

The new regime continued the repression of the left forces. In the economy, preference was given to the development of the private capitalist sector. Foreign capital received great privileges. Much of the nationalised foreign property was returned to its former owners. There were changes in foreign policy. Indonesia expanded her ties with the USA and Japan. Relations with Malaysia were normalised in 1966. Then Indonesia returned to the UN. In 1967, she joined forces with a number of other countries in creating an Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Relations with the socialist countries were restrained.

There were changes in the system of parties within the framework of the new order, established by the military, in the early 1970s. An Organisation of Functional Groups (Golkar) was set up under military auspices, comprising professional, social, co-operative and other

organisations. The Muslim parties joined together to form a Development Unity Party, and other parties made up an Indonesian Democratic Party. The Communists were in disarray. Some of them fell under the influence of Maoism. A Marxist-Leninist Communist Party came back to life in underground conditions in 1969. In 1975, it made public a policy programme "For Democracy, Social Justice and People's Well-Being".

The 1971 and 1977 election campaigns were strictly controlled by the authorities. The left forces were kept out. Most of the votes were cast for the Organisation of Functional Groups (Golkar) expressing the interests of the ruling military establishment. In the 1977 elections, Golkar failed to win electoral support in a number of regions. There were no major changes in Indonesia's political life in the 1980s. The 1982 and 1987 elections still gave the Golkar a majority vote. Economic growth rates in the mid-1980s slowed down. That was largely due to a plummeting of the world prices of oil, the major Indonesian export item.

Indonesia's relations with the USSR and other socialist countries made some headway from the mid-1970s on. In the 1980s, they became more substantive. There were several exchange visits at official level. The Indonesian side positively appreciated the peace initiatives of the USSR in the struggle for nuclear disarmament and security in the Asian and Pacific region.

Pakistan remained an agrarian country after gaining independence in 1947. Foreign capital dominated the major sectors of its economy. The leading positions in political life were held by the Muslim League expressing the interests of big landowners and the bourgeois top crust. The social situation was tense. The workers and peasants were stepping up their struggle. The authorities had to carry through agrarian measures. But discontent in the land was growing. Opposition bourgeois democratic parties appeared in the late 1940s and the early 1950s. The Communist Party of Pakistan was formed in 1948. In December 1954, the opposition parties established a United Front in East Pakistan, which won the elections for the Legislative Assembly in 1954. Fearful of mounting opposition, the authorities introduced a state of emergency. Pakistan's foreign policy was geared



to an alliance with the USA and Britain. Pakistan entered SEATO and the Baghdad Pact. Relations with India were rather strained and fraught with armed conflicts.

Having somewhat stabilized the national situation, the ruling circles held elections for a new Constituent Assembly (1955) which adopted a Constitution in 1955. On March 23, 1956, the Dominion of Pakistan became the Islamic Republic of Pakistan with a parliamentary form of government. Shortly afterwards, in 1957, the progressive forces joined together to form a National People's Party. The forces of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, seeking to lay hold on the reins of power, were consolidating themselves in the meantime. A military coup in October 1958, led to General Mohammad Ayub Khan becoming President. Some reforms were carried out.

But they did not satisfy the bulk of national forces. So opposition to the military regime was growing. A new Constitution establishing a presidential form of government, controlled by the Parliament, was introduced on March 1, 1962. The military regime was ended. Political parties (except the Communist Party) resumed their activities. A Pakistan People's Party under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was organised in 1967.

In the late 1960s, the situation in Pakistan was strained again, social struggles intensified and the democratic movement became more active. On March 25, 1969, Ayub Khan transferred power to General A. M. Yahya Khan, the Army Supreme Commander. The general election in December 1970 was won by democratic parties: the Pakistan People's Party in West Pakistan, and the Awami League, headed by Mujibur Rahman, in East Pakistan. The national forces of East Pakistan declared a People's Republic of Bangladesh. The armed conflict of Pakistan and Bangladesh, with India at its side, ended in the Pakistani troops being defeated.

That turn of events forced Yahya Khan to resign and leave power to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The civilian government embarked on a progressive domestic and foreign policy. It nationalised big private enterprises of heavy industry, insurance companies and private banks and some other companies. A public sector of industry sprang up. Under the 1972 agrarian reform,

the big landowners had their surplus land taken away from them to be distributed free among landless and land-poor peasants. Co-operatives appeared in the countryside. Trade union rights were enlarged, the Communist Party relegalised, and a new Constitution enacted. Pakistan left SEATO, extended its links with the socialist and developing countries, established diplomatic relations with Bangladesh, and set course for a closer relationship with India.

This course met with resistance from the rightist forces which set about destabilising the situation in Pakistan. In 1977, the military, with General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq at their head, took power into their hands. In 1978, Zia ul-Haq became President. Arrests and repression of progressive forces followed. In April 1979, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was executed, accused of an earlier political murder. The nation's economy was falling back into private hands. Foreign policy changed, too. On the one hand, Pakistan withdrew from the SEATO bloc and joined the Non-Aligned Movement. On the other, it became a bridgehead for action against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, by hosting Afghan counter-revolutionary detachments waging an armed struggle against the DRA.

The situation in Pakistan in the early 1980s was one of increased inflation, a higher cost of living, mounting unemployment and heightened ethnic tension. Opposition forces were getting more active in spite of the bans. In 1983, most of the political parties joined forces in a Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, and spoke up for the resignation of the military government, re-enactment of the 1973 Constitution, and a general election. In February 1985, the military regime held national elections on a non-party basis. However, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy boycotted them. For a long time, Pakistan obstructed a peaceful settlement of the problems relating to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Negotiations between representatives of Pakistan and the DRA began in Geneva in 1982, with the mediation of the UN Secretary General's envoy. They dragged on for years because of Pakistan's negative stand. Only in 1988 was an accord to settle the issues involving Afghanistan signed. But even after

that, Pakistan continued to lend support to the forces of the Afghan counter-revolution.

President Zia-ul-Haq died in an air crash on August 17, 1988. In the elections for the National Assembly of Pakistan three months later (on November 16, 1988), most of the seats in the lower (ruling) house of Parliament were gained by the National People's Party, headed by Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of Z. A. Bhutto executed in 1979. Soon afterwards, she was appointed the nation's Prime Minister. Ghulam Ishaq Khan was elected the new President of Pakistan on December 12, 1988. The world community looked forward to positive changes in Pakistan's home and foreign policy. Yet even after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, Pakistan continued to support the armed Afghan opposition.

Ceylon, later to be named *Sri Lanka*, became independent on February 4, 1948. Until 1956, its government had been headed by the United National Party (founded in 1946). In 1951, some of its members created a *Sri Lanka Freedom Party* headed by Solomon Bandaranaike. It provided the core of a United People's Front which came to power in April 1956. Solomon Bandaranaike headed the government which carried through important socio-economic and political measures. The country's national independence was strengthened, and British military presence ended. However, in 1959, the right-wing nationalist forces organised the assassination of Solomon Bandaranaike. It was his widow, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who put herself at the head of the Party and the government after her husband's death. Under her, the public sector of the economy was strengthened and an agrarian reform launched.

But the economic and political difficulties and outstanding social problems turned many voters away from the Freedom Party. So the United National Party was returned to power in the 1977 elections. Its government embarked on a policy of denationalisation, consolidation of private enterprise, and attraction of foreign capital. A dramatic conflict broke out between the Sinhalese and Tamil ethnic groups in the 1980s. The Tamil organisations demanded a large autonomy for the predominantly Tamil-populated regions. A state of emergency was introduced in May 1983.

*Sri Lanka's* foreign policy was oriented basically towards developing relations with the West and Japan. It maintained the traditional close relationship with India, strained though it was occasionally because of internal contradictions. Relations with the USSR were established in 1957 and have since been developing.

In *Burma*, the British intended to regain their domination after the end of the Second World War. However, the national forces which grouped around the Anti-Fascist People's League (AFPL), headed by Aung San, demanded national independence. In 1947, the British gave their consent to the creation of the Union of Burma. At the same time, the reactionary elements were out to prevent the democratic forces from coming to power. In July 1947, they organised the assassination of Aung San.

Burma became an independent state on January 4, 1948. The government was headed by U Nu, an AFPL leader. However, a civil war broke out in March 1948. The AFPL government got no support from the Communists and some other left organisations or from the separatists. That state of things went on until 1950. The AFPL proclaimed a socialist option, but, as a matter of fact, it was a capitalist pattern of relations that developed in Burma.

An acute political crisis erupted in the early 1960s. It was the military (a Revolutionary Council), headed by General Ne Win, who came to power on March 2, 1962. They produced a political declaration called "The Burmese Road to Socialism". This led to banks, oil industry, wholesale trade etc. being nationalised. The activities of the usurers and big landowners were restricted. Workers and peasants' councils sprang up everywhere. National economic expansion plans were drawn up. In 1962, the Burma Socialist Programme Party began to be established. This process was completed in 1971. A new Constitution was adopted in 1974. But the Civil War in Burma raged on, creating a certain internal political instability. The attempts of the authorities to remedy the situation by an amnesty in 1980 and negotiations with the Communist Party in 1981 failed. In March 1988, anti-government demonstrations began

in the country, as a result of which General Ne Win had to resign. In August Maung Maung was elected President but soon he was also removed after a military putsch. The situation remained unstable. In 1989, Burma began to be called Myanma. In foreign affairs, the Burmese government followed a policy of neutrality and non-alignment.

*The Philippines*, which was a US colony, gained independence and became a sovereign republic on July 4, 1946. But the United States enmeshed the country in a web of economic and military treaties and agreements. It strengthened the rule of the landowner-bourgeois bloc. A reactionary regime was installed. The Communist Party was outlawed in 1948, and other left workers' and peasants' organisations were banned. But by as early as the mid-1950s, the democratic forces were active again. They were up against reaction and the country's pro-American course. The Philippines entered SEATO in 1954, ASPAC in 1966, and ASEAN in 1967. In the 1960s, the country got involved in the American aggression in Vietnam.

There was an intensified movement in the 1960s for a revision of the unfair accords between the Philippines and the United States, and for the dismantling of American military bases on the territory of the Philippines. Ferdinand Marcos was elected President of the Philippines in 1965. There were certain changes in government policy. It became less anti-communist. The start was made towards normalising relations with socialist countries.

But that did not stop the nation's social and political crisis. The mounting social struggles and rampant terrorism induced the authorities to impose a state of emergency in September 1972. Opposition activities were suppressed by force of military compulsion. At the same time, the authorities closed down many newspapers, radio stations and television companies. Yet it was decided to carry through certain social and economic reforms, an agrarian one, first and foremost. The Communist Party of the Philippines was legalised in October 1974. Political prisoners were let out of jail in 1976.

Diplomatic relations between the Philippines and a number of socialist countries were established in the early half of the 1970s. In 1976, President Marcos visited the Soviet Union and signed an agreement establishing diplomatic relations between the Philippines

and the USSR. But in the latter half of the 1970s the Philippines went in once more for a closer relationship with the USA, notably signed another agreement to allow American military bases on its territory.

For many years the internal political situation has been influenced by an armed struggle waged by the New People's Army led by the Filipino Maoists and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), seeking to create an independent Muslim state on the islands of Mindanao and Sulu. An interim cease-fire agreement was reached between the government and representatives of the anti-government armed forces in 1986.

The continuing and hardening regime of Ferdinand Marcos' one-man rule incurred widespread discontent. In January 1981, the authorities had to lift martial law. In greater freedom, the forces of opposition gained in strength and scope. An acute political crisis erupted in the Philippines in the mid-1980s, with anti-government demonstrations and meetings everywhere demanding the resignation of Marcos. In that situation, reactionaries assassinated in 1983 a prominent political leader of the opposition, Benigno Aquino. But that sparked off yet wider anti-government action. Marcos had to agree to an early presidential election. The contenders were Ferdinand Marcos and the leader of the opposition, Corazon C. Aquino, Benigno Aquino's widow. Marcos' supporters claimed victory, but the opposition challenged the election returns as rigged. A political explosion was brewing. In the face of it, Marcos relinquished the post of the head of state and left the Philippines.

Corazon Aquino became President. She dissolved the National Assembly and proclaimed an interim Freedom Constitution in March 1986. The supporters of Marcos and all right-wing groups came out against the referendum and the Aquino Government. But in the referendum of February 2, 1987, the Constitution won majority electoral support, thereby permitting Corazon Aquino to stay as President until 1992. She has been giving much attention to putting through social and economic change and democratising the nation. But her activities have been obstructed by recurrent scheming of reaction and attempted armed coups.

#### § 4. The Countries of the Near and Middle East

*Turkey.* The economic plight and anti-democratic policy of the Government of the Republican People's Party caused wide-spread resentment in various population groups after the end of the Second World War. The Turkish Majlis (Parliament) decided to carry through some limited reforms. A little more independence than before was granted to the press. New political parties and trade unions were allowed. A workers' accident insurance and old-age security Act was passed. Agrarian measures to benefit the peasants were outlined. Yet none of that could actually satisfy the mass of the people.

There was an opposition trend even in the ruling party. In January 1946, some of the RPP members, expelled for their opposition views, created a Democratic Party which spoke up for the country's democratisation. A Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey was created at the same time, and trade unions sprang up. The RPP won the Majlis elections in July 1946. Its leader, Ismet İnönü was elected President of Turkey. After the elections, the Turkish authorities again intensified repression of the democratic movement. In foreign affairs, Turkey sought closer dealings with the USA. She received a loan and military aid under the Truman Doctrine. Then Turkey subscribed to the Marshall Plan and joined NATO in 1952. American capital was pushing its way into Turkey's economy. The Turkish government struck up an unfriendly posture in respect of the USSR.

The country's militarisation and the reactionary domestic policy undermined the RPP influence. It was defeated in the 1950 elections. The Democratic Party came to power. Its Chairman, Celâl Bayar, was elected the nation's President. The new government encouraged private enterprise and foreign investment. It distributed some of the public land among the peasants. The DP was building up its influence by enhancing the role of Islam in social and political life. There was a further militarisation drive and the military alliance with the USA was built up. In foreign affairs, Turkey was totally committed to the NATO course, notably in the Middle East.

The working-class movement, including the strike struggles, went into higher gear in the 1950s. The effect was to compel the establishment of a national minimum wage and annual paid holidays. The peasant movement gained in scope as well. In some places peasants seized landed estates, which often brought them into bloody conflict with police and punitive squads. To stem the growth of the social struggles, the government whipped up an anti-communist hysteria and carried out numerous arrests and trials. Capital punishment was introduced for the leaders of Communist organisations and also the organisations of peace activists. There were mass student risings in Istanbul late in April 1960, in response to those acts. The student demonstration was fired on, which sent a wave of indignation throughout the country and led to the military staging a coup on May 27, 1960. Power passed into the hands of a National Unity Committee headed by General Cemal Gürsel.

The new authorities dissolved the Parliament, banned the Democratic Party, arrested the former President and the Prime Minister and several hundred officials of the old regime. Some of them were executed later on. A Constituent Assembly was convened in 1961, which adopted a new Constitution. It proclaimed some social and economic rights of working people. Following the elections for the Grand National Assembly, Cemal Gürsel became the President and Ismet İnönü, the Prime Minister. The military formed a National Security Council which could influence the course of events in the country. After the 1965 elections, it was Süleyman Demirel, the leader of the Justice Party, founded in 1961, who became head of government. The Chief of the General Staff, Cevdet Sunay, was elected the President of Turkey in 1966. Turkey's foreign policy orientation did not change. In 1963 she entered the Common Market. At the same time, Soviet-Turkish relations began to be normalised. Turkey's links with other socialist countries increased.

Workers' and democratic organisations were more active in greater freedom after the 1960 coup. The Turkish Labour Party, created in 1961, won 15 seats in the 1965 parliamentary elections. But the Communist Party remained deep underground.



A serious political crisis erupted in Turkey in the early 1970s. In 1971-1973, the country had governments which had been formed with direct intervention of the military. Their concern was to suppress the democratic movement. Fahri Korutürk was elected President in April 1973. Süleyman Demirel put himself at the head of a coalition government in 1975. But the political situation remained unstable. There was a close-fought battle for power among political parties. Strike struggles intensified. There was mass action against the decline of the working people's standard of living. A coalition government under Bülent Ecevit, the RPP leader, was formed in Turkey in 1978. Its foremost priority was to install public order.

But it failed. There was a serious backlog of social and economic problems, stagnation in industry and agriculture, a worsening foreign exchange and financial position, and mounting unemployment. Inflation and the prices of consumer goods and foodstuffs were rising fast. The social struggles moved a stage ahead. Working people and progressive sections of public opinion were pressing for the nation to set out on a democratic track and leave NATO. Neofascist groups staged recurrent acts of violence and terror. The inability of civilian governments to overcome these difficulties led to the armed forces once more taking power into their hands on September 12, 1980. General Kenan Evren, Chairman of the National Security Council, became head of state.

The new authorities stepped up repression of the left democratic forces. A trial of the leaders of the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Unions, accused of involvement in terrorism, was started at once. A new Constitution, appreciably strengthening presidential power, was adopted in 1982. Kenan Evren was President again. New political parties were constituted under military control, and parliamentary elections were held in 1983. The government was formed by Turgut Özal, leader of the Motherland Party.

There was no change in the conduct of foreign affairs. In 1985, the Joint US-Turkish Defence Co-operation Agreement was prolonged. At the same time, there was a clearly expressed desire for the continued positive

development of Soviet-Turkish relations. Notable headway was made in these relations in the 1970s and 1980s, with solid ground provided by the 1972 Declaration of the Principles of Good-Neighbourly and Friendly Relations between the USSR and Turkey and the 1978 Political Document on the Principles of Good-Neighbourly and Friendly Co-operation between the USSR and the Turkish Republic. A Long-Term Programme for the Development of Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technological Co-operation between the Soviet Union and Turkey was signed in 1984.

Iran. The situation in Iran at the end of the war and right after it was over, was one of a sharpening struggle between the forces of reaction and democracy. The People's Party, created in 1941, was in battle for democracy and social progress. The battle was at its highest pitch in Iranian Azerbaijan and in Kurdistan. Late in 1945, the people of those regions declared them autonomous and created their own governments. Important social and economic changes were made in Iranian Azerbaijan and Kurdistan during the year that the autonomous regime existed.

The central Iranian government, under M. Sadr, strove to stem the surging revolutionary and democratic movement by means of repression. In January 1946, the government was headed by Quavam es-Sultaneh. It passed a number of progressive laws and recognised the autonomy of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan. However, from the summer of 1946 on, there was a wave of ruthless repression of the working-class movement. A general strike at the enterprises of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was put down by armed forces. Troops were moved into Iranian Azerbaijan in December 1946; the acts of violence they wreaked on the leaders of those regions were a real bloodbath. The wave of repression swept across the whole country. In foreign affairs, Quavam backed on economic and military aid from the USA. There was a drastic deterioration of Soviet-Iranian relations. At the same time, Anglo-American relations got strained because Britain did not want to surrender its positions to the United States in the exploitation of Iran's oil resources. She got Quavam removed from the post of the head of government late in 1947.

There was a fresh upsurge of the democratic movement in Iran in the early 1950s. It was for the nationalisation of the petroleum industry. In 1951, the Majlis passed a Nationalisation Act. The government was headed by Mohammed Mossadegh. The nationalisation of the petroleum industry led to a drastic straining and then, in 1952, to a rupture of diplomatic relations with Great Britain. The United States was also seeking to get access to Iranian oil. In a coup in 1953, the Mossadegh Government was removed from office.

General Zahedi, who found himself at the head of the government in 1954, signed an agreement with the International Oil Consortium on the terms of exploitation of the country's oil resources. Those were fettering terms for Iran. In foreign affairs, Iran committed itself to the NATO policy. In 1955, it entered the Baghdad Pact and in 1959 signed a bilateral military agreement with the USA.

Iran's dependence on foreign capital exacerbated its internal contradictions. In the late 1950s, the country found itself faced by an acute economic and political crisis. Its regime then was one of repression and violence against any democratic and progressive trends. But the people's widespread resentment of the domestic and foreign policies of the governing circles was mounting. In view of that, Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi and his associates went in for some socio-economic and political reforms in the early 1960s (a land reform, improvement of the workers' condition, a campaign to end illiteracy, steps to improve the health services and democratise the electoral system). Industrial construction on a large scale got under way. All that contributed towards Iran's development and moderated the intensity of social contradictions. A start was made towards normalising Iranian-Soviet relations. In 1972, the USSR and Iran signed a Treaty to Promote Economic and Technical Co-operation. The situation in Iran was stabilised for a time.

But the root causes for yet another aggravation of the situation had not been removed. Democratic aspirations and workers' struggles were repressed, as before. Membership of the Communist Party left one open to capital punishment. Thousands of progressives perished in the

dungeons of the SAVAK secret police. It was only the pro-monarchist Rastakhiz Party that operated legally (since 1975). The top crust around the Shah kept on waxing rich, while the overwhelming majority of the population eked out a miserable existence.

There was a revolutionary explosion in Iran in the late 1970s, with the religious-political opposition, headed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Moussavi Khomeini in the lead. Mass anti-government demonstrations began in Iran in 1978. Large-scale strikes took place at the enterprises of the petroleum industry, in transport services, communications, and public utilities. An armed uprising in Tehran in February 1979, brought down the monarchist regime. In essence, that was an anti-monarchist and anti-imperialist revolution. Power passed into the hands of the Islamic Revolutionary Council, and Iran was proclaimed an Islamic Republic. A new Constitution was approved in a referendum late in 1979. The property of the Shah and his family was confiscated and the SAVAK secret police disbanded. The new authorities carried out a thorough purge of the army, police, and the civil service. Private banks and insurance companies were nationalised, and the property of the comprador bourgeoisie expropriated.

There was a sweeping turn in Iran's foreign policy. Iran left CENTO and declared itself committed to a policy of neutrality and non-alignment. Relations with the USA were drastically strained. The USA imposed an embargo on food supplies to Iran and froze her assets. In retaliation, the staff of the US Embassy in Tehran were taken hostage. In April 1980, the US carried out an abortive operation to free them. It was as a result of negotiations that the US diplomats were set free. Nevertheless, the USA built up its military presence off the shores of Iran. In September 1980, a war broke out between Iran and Iraq. In respect of the Soviet Union, Iran, after the revolution, declared for close ties and good-neighbourly relations. But before long an anti-Soviet campaign, particularly because of the events in Afghanistan, was whipped up.

All aspects of the life of society began to be Islamicised soon after the revolution. A system of Islamic legal proceedings and that of education were introduced.

Women were forced to put on Islamic clothes again. Repression was launched against progressive organisations. The People's Party, which had declared itself ready and willing to co-operate with the new authorities in anti-Shah and anti-imperialist activities, was banned in 1983, and its leaders were repressed. A number of social and economic reforms were suspended. The former owners had their expropriated enterprises and landed estates returned to them. The Iranian leadership was stubbornly committed to carrying on the war with Iraq. This war claimed hundreds of thousands of Iranian lives. Tremendous economic damage was done to the country. Only in mid-1988 did the leadership of Iran announce their agreement with the Security Council resolution calling for a cease-fire and for the withdrawal of all forces to the internationally recognised boundaries of Iran and Iraq.

*Afghanistan* remained an agrarian country after 1945. Her economic backwardness and the hard material condition of the masses were the basic factors behind social conflicts. There were tribal disturbances in southern and eastern provinces in 1945. The Government of Shah Mahmud put forward a programme for the development of the national economy in 1946. It meant encouraging private enterprises. An agreement was concluded with the American Morrison-Knudsen Co. for the construction of an irrigation network and roads in southern regions. But that project brought no appreciable change with it in the nation's economic condition. Afghanistan's foreign policy was based on the principles of neutrality and non-alignment. Contradictions with Pakistan and Iran arose over individual issues. Soviet-Afghan relations developed positively. An agreement on the national boundary between the USSR and Afghanistan was signed in 1946.

The world-wide upsurge of the revolutionary and liberation movement led to opposition trends gaining ground in Afghanistan as well. An Awakened Youth movement, counting on parliamentary activity, emerged in the country in 1947. Opposition newspapers began to appear in 1951, speaking out for a revision of the 1931 Constitution and for democratising social and political life. In the 1952 elections, the authorities pre-

vented opposition candidates being elected. The opposition organised a political demonstration in Kabul by way of protest. After that, the government banned the activities of the opposition and repressed its members.

Mohammad Daud became head of government in September 1953. He set about carrying through a number of reforms. Daud sought a closer relationship with the USSR. The Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression was prolonged for 10 years in 1955. The USSR expanded economic, scientific and technological aid to Afghanistan. Afghanistan concluded fresh agreements with the United States as well. However, her relations with Pakistan were strained to the breaking point in 1961.

In 1963, Daud stepped down to be succeeded by Mohammad Yusuf as head of government. A new Constitution was drafted and adopted under him in 1964, which somewhat enlarged the rights of the Parliament and allowed political parties to be created in the country. Diplomatic relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan were resumed in 1963, and the Soviet-Afghan Treaty was prolonged for a further 10 years in 1965. A People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) was illegally formed in January 1965. Parliamentary elections were held later in the same year, leading to a change of government. There were widespread working-class and youth actions in Afghanistan in the late 1960s. Social contradictions and conflicts were coming to a head.

In 1973, Daud, with anti-monarchist sentiment to inspire him, staged a coup and ended the monarchy. Afghanistan was proclaimed a republic. Soviet-Afghan relations made great headway in the 1970s: the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression was prolonged again in 1975 and an Agreement on Economic Co-operation was signed in 1977. A Republican Constitution was adopted in Afghanistan in February 1977, and Mohammad Daud was elected the first President of the Republic. A number of important social and economic reforms were launched. Pits and ore mines became national property. An Afghan National Petroleum Company was established, banks were nationalised and the public sector promoted. The government set course for national industrialisation. A seven-year plan for the

development of the national economy of Afghanistan was adopted in 1976. The Soviet Union began to render great assistance in its implementation. But, on balance, Daud's policy did not change the essence of the regime. The activities of progressive democratic organisations were banned.

In the context of the rising anti-imperialist and anti-feudal sentiment and action, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, with some of the Army to fall back on, launched a democratic revolution on April 27, 1978. As a result, power passed to the Revolutionary Council which declared the country a Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Nur Mohammad Taraki was elected the head of state and prime minister of the DRA. An effort was undertaken throughout the Republic to make deep-going social and economic change directed towards eliminating feudal and pre-feudal relations, and democratising public life.

However, the intervention of forces from without and activity of internal reaction as well as internal party infighting seriously handicapped the development of the revolution in Afghanistan. In September 1979, Amin organised the overthrow and assassination of Taraki, and established a regime of terror and repression. That put in jeopardy not only the revolution, but the sovereignty of Afghanistan as well. On December 27, 1979, Amin was removed from office. He was succeeded by Babrak Karmal, who asked the Soviet government for a limited contingent of troops to be moved into Afghanistan.

A far-reaching land reform began to be carried out in Afghanistan. The public sector in industry expanded. The development of the native languages and cultures of all the ethnic communities and tribes was encouraged. Co-operatives began to appear in the countryside. A start was made in carrying out economic development plans. A campaign was on to end illiteracy. The system of health services was being advanced. However, the reforms were impeded by the warfare taking place on the country's territory. The military opposition forces were based in Pakistan.

It became a major priority in Afghanistan to normalise the situation and to end the fratricidal war. Afghan-Pakistani negotiations on the political settlement of the prob-

lems involved began in Geneva since 1982, through the mediation of a special envoy of the UN Secretary General. For a long time, the negotiations were dragged out by the Pakistani side. Beginning with 1985, Afghanistan announced a policy of national reconciliation and set about translating it into practice. There was an amnesty of those involved in the struggle against the DRA. Some representatives of the opposition were included in the nation's governing bodies. The Afghan-Pakistani negotiations had a new lease of life. A document on the peaceful settlement of problems was signed in 1988. The withdrawal of the Soviet military contingent began in May and was ended in mid-February 1989.

Iraq had been in long bondage to British capital relying on feudal reaction. In 1946, a henchman of court reactionaries, Nuri Said, put himself at the head of the Iraqi government. He launched a crusade against democracy. On January 15, 1948, Iraq signed a Mutual Defence Treaty with Britain, making it dependent on foreign capital. There were mass strikes and political demonstrations in Iraq in protest against it in January through May 1948. The country found itself in a state of an anti-government uprising. In consequence, the treaty with Britain was repealed. In 1948-1949, Iraq got involved in a war of the Palestinian people against Israel.

Under pressure from the democratic movement, Iraq called on foreign oil monopolies in 1951 to leave 50 per cent of the profit gained from oil production on her territory in the Iraqi treasury, which was formalised in a special agreement. By the mid-1950s, the governing quarters of Iraq once more intensified the suppression of progressive forces. An undisguised dictatorship of Nuri Said was established in Iraq in 1954. The Parliament was dissolved, and so were the political parties. In 1955, Iraq trade unions and community organisations. In 1955, Iraq severed relations with the USSR and joined the Baghdad Pact. In 1956, Iraq took the line of supporting the aggression against Egypt. All that combined to generate an acute political crisis in the country. A secret Free Officers organisation emerged in the Armed Forces. The Party of Arab Socialist Ba'ath (Renaissance Party) became active. There was an uprising in the country late in 1956.



With the uprising defeated, the national forces began to create a united front. In the spring of 1957, the Communist Party joined efforts with the National Democratic Party, the Ba'th Party, the Independence Party and other forces in creating a National Unity Front. The members of the Front established contact with the Free Officers organisation. On July 14, 1958, army units, with the active support of the mass of the people, carried out a national revolution and brought down the monarchist system. Iraq was proclaimed a republic, left the Baghdad Pact and had the British bases on her territory closed down. The treaties infringing upon the nation's sovereignty were cancelled. Iraq established friendly relations with the USSR and other socialist countries.

The government now had Abdul Karim Kassem, the leader of the Free Officers organisation, established as its leader. A land reform began to be carried out in the country. Trade unions and peasant associations were created. Political parties, including the Communist Party, came into the open. But soon afterwards, the right wing of the national bourgeoisie began demanding a restriction of democracy and suppression of the Kurd movement. Kassem began to depart from progressive undertakings and implant his own one-man rule. In foreign affairs, he embarked on a path of reckless action, thereby isolating himself from Arab countries.

In a coup on February 8, 1963, the Kassem Government was overthrown and Kassem was shot. Power passed into the hands of the Ba'th Party. The regime thus established existed for just a few months. There was another coup on November 12, 1963, with power passing into the hands of a military group headed by Abd al-Salam Arif. The Ba'thists were removed from power. An intention was proclaimed to build "Arab socialism" in Iraq. The government took the initiative in creating a united political organisation called the Arab Socialist Union of Iraq. A start was made in normalising relations with Arab countries, and the hostilities against the Kurds were stopped. Foreign and private national banks, insurance companies, and certain enterprises were nationalised.

But Arif's progressive course was short-lived. Military operations against the Kurds were resumed in April 1965. Concessions were then made to foreign oil monop-

lies. Arif lost his life in an air crash on April 13, 1966. It was his brother, Abdul Rahman Arif who became President of Iraq. He, too, established his dictatorship. The condition of the masses worsened.

The Ba'th Party came to power in Iraq once more with the help of army units on July 17, 1968. General Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr was appointed the President of the nation. The Ba'th leaders declared their intention to create a National Front involving the Communist Party. The government released some of the arrested democrats. Decrees absolving the peasants from having to buy out the land and establishing a pension scheme for workers were issued. The interim Constitution, adopted in 1970, declared Iraq a people's democratic republic. The military operations against the Kurds were ceased in March 1970, and ways of a peaceful settlement of the Kurdish problem were outlined.

At the end of 1971, the Ba'th published a draft National Action Charter, spelling out a programme for far-reaching social and economic change. Representatives of the Communist Party and of the Kurdish Democratic Party were included in the government. The government of Iraq nationalised all foreign oil companies and enlarged the public sector in industry. Economic growth was based on five-year plans. Steps were taken to improve working people's living conditions. Free education was introduced.

In 1974, the authorities promulgated a Kurdish Autonomy Act. Iraq extended her links with the USSR and other socialist countries. A Soviet-Iraqi Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation was concluded in 1972. Iraq has been co-operating with the CMEA since 1975.

Saddam Hussain became President of Iraq in July 1979. The first National Assembly elections were held in 1980. A drastic deterioration of relations between Iraq and Iran in the early 1980s escalated into a long-drawn-out war between them. Only in 1988 was the conflict ended.

Syria became formally independent in 1941. The leader of the Nationalist Party, Shukri el-Quwatli, was the country's President in 1943-1949. The Soviet Union established diplomatic relations with Syria in 1944. In that period, the Syrian people were pressing for the foreign

troops to be withdrawn. Britain and France had to do so in 1946. Syria had a prospect opening up before her for self-determined development and national progress. However, the reactionary elements (the comprador bourgeoisie and big landowners) still had strong positions, and foreign capital held sway. In 1946-1947, big feudals organised a number of plots against the republican regime.

The resolve of the national forces to wipe out the vestiges of colonialism came up against the resistance of the governments tied to imperialism. The activities of the Syrian Communist Party, trade unions and other democratic organisations were banned in December 1947. But there was no stability in the country. Several coups were staged by the military in 1949-1951. They reflected a scramble for power between various bourgeois-landlord groups.

From 1949 on, after the third coup, power was in the hands of the anti-imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie. A Constitution proclaiming the social rights of working people (the right to work, material security, and education) was adopted in Syria in 1950. In 1951, Colonel Shishekly established a regime of military dictatorship and dropped the Constitution which had been adopted. But the struggle against the dictatorship intensified.

In 1954, the Shishekly reactionary dictatorship was overthrown by a sweeping popular movement. Parliamentary elections were won by the forces that favoured Syria's development along the road of independence and progress. Considerable gains were made by the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Ba'th).

A government of national unity was formed. Shukri el-Quwatli was elected President of Syria in 1955. The government started to restrict the activities of foreign capital. The sectors of the economy which were dominated by monopolies passed into the hands of the state. The development of national capital was encouraged. Syria began to develop relations with the USSR and other socialist countries.

The Syrian government's commitment to consolidating the nation's independence met with a hostile reaction from the USA and her allies. An extremely dangerous situation for Syria developed in the autumn of 1957.

Israeli and Turkish troops had been moved close to her borders while the American fleet concentrated in the Eastern Mediterranean. But the plans for armed aggression were thwarted due to the determined position of the USSR, Arab countries and other peace forces.

In February 1958, Syria joined with Egypt to form a United Arab Republic. That was followed by a certain unification of political life after Egypt's pattern. A decree disbanding all political parties was issued in March 1958. Trade unions were banned from political activities. An agrarian reform got under way in Syria. The peasants who had received land grouped in co-operatives managed by government officials.

That reform, just as the decrees nationalising big private companies and banks, frightened the landocracy and the Syrian bourgeoisie. In a coup of September 28, 1961, power passed into the hands of the Council of the Revolutionary Command. On September 30 it was announced that Syria was withdrawing from the UAR and establishing a Syrian Arab Republic. The government, formed in December 1961, headed by Marouf Dawalibi, the leader of the former bourgeois landlord party, passed an Act to return the nationalised companies and enterprises to their former owners. The peasants began to be driven off the lands they had received under the land reform.

The offensive against social and economic gains aroused the discontent and protest from large sections of working people. That was the reason why a further military coup was staged on March 28, 1962, in the name of resuming the building of a "constructive and just socialism". Yet there still was no way of stabilising the situation in the country.

Things changed after yet another military coup on March 8, 1963, when the leaders of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party came to power. The main slogans of the new Syrian leaders were "unity, freedom, socialism". Late in 1964 and early in 1965, the government of Syria promulgated a number of nationalisation laws whereby large-scale industrial enterprises and some of foreign trade passed under government control. The earlier nationalisation of banks, insurance societies and transport services was restored. By 1966, the public sector accounted

for 80-85 per cent of industrial production. The agrarian reform was carried forward.

There was a pitched battle over the measures in progress in the nation and in the Ba'th Party. Right-wing forces resisted progressive reforms.

But they were removed from leadership on February 23, 1966. Power passed into the hands of representatives of the left trend in the Ba'th leadership who continued progressive social and economic changes.

In June 1967, Syria, Egypt and Jordan were attacked by Israel. But the aggressor did not succeed in overthrowing the progressive regimes in Syria and Egypt. At the same time, Israel occupied part of Syrian territory and inflicted extensive material damage on this country.

In 1970, there was a change of leadership of the Ba'th and the Syrian state as a result of a "rectification movement of the 16th of November". It was led by Hafiz al-Assad. The new leadership set about promoting co-operation with other progressive forces and committed themselves to preserving and advancing changes in the national economy. In 1971-75, Syria was carrying out her third five-year plan, along with advancing nationalisation and promoting peasant co-operativisation. A People's Council (Parliament) was elected in 1971. A National Progressive Front, consisting of the Ba'th, the Communist Party and other progressive organisations, was formed in March 1972. A permanent Constitution was approved in a referendum on March 12, 1973.

In 1973, Syria, together with Egypt and other Arab countries, beat off yet another Israeli act of aggression. Yet the situation on the Syrian borders remained disturbing. In 1976, Syria moved her troops into Lebanon to help end the internal armed clashes there. In 1978, Syria denounced the Egyptian-Israeli collusion. Soviet-Syrian co-operation made steady headway in the 1970s and 1980s.

*Lebanon.* Just as in Syria, the national forces in Lebanon, even after the official declaration of independence in 1943, had to press for the French and British troops to be pulled out. In 1946, the foreign soldiers left the territory of Lebanon but foreign capital domination of the economy continued. In the early post-war years, power was in the hands of representatives of the big commercial

and financial bourgeoisie and landlords who encouraged the penetration of foreign monopolies. Lebanon's position was even more confused because it had some proponents of the unification with Syria. A plot designed to achieve such a unification, was uncovered in 1947. Besides, there were different religious communities in action (Christians, Sunnites, Shiites). They shared government posts among themselves. But contradictions and conflicts erupted from time to time. There was a Maronite (Christian), Bishara el-Khoury who was President of the nation in 1943.

After the end of the war, the working masses were pressing for an improvement of their material condition. In view of that, the government had to promulgate a Labour Act (1946). In 1948, the situation was strained again because of the Palestinian War. The Lebanese authorities banned the activities of the Communist Party, trade unions, and other progressive organisations.

But they could not stop working people from fighting on for their rights and for peace. There was a general strike in 1952 in support of the programmes for social reforms. President Bishara el-Khoury had to resign. His post was taken over by an independent MP, Camille Chamoun who continued the earlier policy. Yet it was under him that direct elections were introduced, and some women gained voting rights. Chamoun's foreign policy was pro-Western. Lebanon remained neutral at the time of the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression in 1956. In 1957, the government of Lebanon approved the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Such a policy touched off widespread protest and mass action. In the spring of 1957, the opposition formed a National Front whose programme was backed by Communists. The Front demanded the repudiation of imperialist foreign policy. An armed rebellion broke out in May 1958. American troops arrived in Lebanon on July 15, at Chamoun's request. But the President's fate was sealed. It was Fuad Chehab who was elected to this post, and Rashid Karamé, a man involved in the rebellion, was appointed Prime Minister. At the instance of the Lebanese national forces and world opinion, the American troops had to leave Lebanon in October 1958. Lebanon's policy began to change in a positive sense.

Yet the government's new line was obstructed by the advocates of pro-Western orientation. They attempted a coup in December 1961. In 1964, right-wing pro-Western forces prevented President Fuad Chehab from being elected for a second term. But the new President, Charles Hélou, continued the policy of co-operation with Arab countries. A Social Insurance Act was passed and minimum basic wages raised in 1965 at the demand of working people. At the time of the Israeli aggression against Arab states in 1967, Lebanon at once condemned the aggression, broke off diplomatic relations with the USA and Britain, and closed her ports to the 6th US Fleet. On June 10, working people staged a general anti-Israeli strike. In the subsequent period, Lebanon went on to act in solidarity with Arab states. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, driven off their lands by Israel, arrived in Lebanon. Palestinian guerrillas settled in the country's southern regions.

Rightist forces started provoking conflicts between the Palestinians and Lebanese. In 1969, they succeeded in instigating clashes in the south between Palestinian guerrillas and Lebanese army units. Patriots and Palestinian refugees rose throughout the country as a reaction to it. A government crisis broke out. Rashid Karame resigned. With the mediation of the Egyptian leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Fatah, Palestine National Liberation Movement, and Lebanese authorities arrived at an agreement on a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The Palestinians pledged themselves to act in accord with the Lebanese army in any of their anti-Israeli operations.

But it was from that time on, to be exact from May 12, 1970, that systematic intrusions of Israeli forces into the territory of Lebanon began. In 1973, the rightist forces once more tried to crush the Palestinian detachments with the army's aid. It was the right-wing Christian al-Kata'eb Party that was particularly active. In 1975, it organised a full-scale war against the Palestinians and the national patriotic forces of Lebanon. It was only after "inter-Arab security forces", consisting mostly of Syrian troops, were moved in that the armed struggle was brought to a halt in 1976.

The situation in Lebanon became particularly strained in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In March 1978, Leba-

non's southern regions were occupied by Israeli forces. After their withdrawal in June 1978, control over that part of the country was established by the right-wing Christian South Lebanon Army. Its command refused to submit to the central government of Lebanon. At Lebanon's request, the UN Security Council sent a UN Interim Force to the country's southern regions to restore Lebanese sovereignty. However, Israel had created a puppet force in the borderland strip under a former Lebanese Army Major Saad Haddad.

In June 1982, Israel launched a war of aggression against Lebanon. The intrusion of Israeli forces brought with it wholesale slaughter of Lebanese and Palestinians as well as destruction of cities and villages. The USA and some other NATO countries, backing up Israel, moved their own forces into Lebanon. In May 1983, they imposed a "peace accord" with Israel on Lebanon, which infringed upon Lebanon's sovereign rights. The aggression was a hard blow to the Palestinian detachments. They had to leave the territory of Lebanon. Peace-loving nations demanded the withdrawal of Israeli, American and other foreign troops from Lebanon and the restoration of a united and sovereign Lebanon.

There was a sweeping movement in Lebanon against the accord which had been imposed on it. Its opponents formed a National Salvation Front of Lebanon. This intensified the infighting. In October 1983, the President of Lebanon, a representative of the Front and some other political leaders of the country held a meeting in Geneva, with the participation of observers from Syria and Saudi Arabia, where they arrived at the necessity of abrogating the Lebanese-Israeli accord. It was abrogated on March 5, 1984. By that time, the forces of the USA and other NATO countries had been withdrawn from Lebanon. A government of national unity, under Rashid Karame, was formed in Lebanon itself. The Israeli aggression caused tremendous damage to the economy of Lebanon. It was estimated at about 12,000 million dollars from 1976 to 1982.

The struggle of the Lebanese patriots forced Israel into withdrawing some of its troops from Lebanese territory early in 1985. However, tension inside the country still remained. The right-wing Christian organi-



sations joined together to form a Lebanese Front which allowed them to enhance their role in the country's political life. In December 1985, the right-wing Christian forces and leaders of Muslim organisations signed an agreement to normalise the situation in the country and carry through a reform of the structure of political power. However, relations between representatives of various groups of Lebanon were continuously strained, which meant triggering off further outbursts of the Civil War.

*Israel.* For a long time, the Arab and the Jewish population of Palestine, which was Great Britain's mandate between the wars, fought for their country's independence. After the end of the Second World War, the lot of Palestine was brought up for a debate in the United Nations Organisation. On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly voted to cancel the British mandate over Palestine and to have two independent states, Jewish and Arab, created on its territory. Israel was established on May 14, 1948 in accordance with that decision, but no Arab state was ever created. In 1948-49, there was a war between Israel and Palestinian Arabs aided by Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Yemen. As a result of it, Israel grabbed some of the lands of the Palestinian Arabs. The rest of the Palestinian lands were retained by Jordan and Egypt; 950,000 Palestinian Arabs were chased out from their lands.

Israel's position after the war was hard, indeed. However, the Western powers, above all the USA, gave her considerable financial and other aid. A coalition government, headed by the leaders of the Labour Party, was formed in Israel on March 10, 1949. The Labour Party remained in office for 29 years. In foreign affairs Israel conducted an expansionist, aggressive policy in respect of Arab states. In October 1956, Israel joined forces with Britain and France in a war of aggression against Egypt, occupied some of its territory, but had to pull out its troops in 1957.

In June 1967, Israel launched a war against Egypt, Syria and Jordan, and occupied some of the territory of these states. On the territories they captured, the Israeli authorities followed a policy of suppression and exploitation of the Arab population. In 10 years after

1967, they destroyed upwards of 19,000 Arab homes and jailed 27,000 people. There was a full-scale colonisation of the captive lands.

The fourth Arab-Israeli war was in October 1973. It showed that the power of Arab states was growing. Israel had to modify her policy to a certain extent and accept a partial separate settlement of problems with Egypt in the late 1970s. At the same time, Israeli ruling circles concentrated their efforts on crushing the Palestine Resistance Movement. In the 1970s and 1980s, Israel more than once launched military operations against Lebanon where the PRM detachments were stationed.

The long-lasting struggle against the Arab states bore down hard on the working masses of Israel. With the propaganda of chauvinism and Zionism, the authorities succeeded in getting their policies supported. However, the protest against it was mounting. One indication of that was the Labour Party's defeat in the 1977 elections with the Likud bloc winning out. But Israel's policy was as aggressive as ever. In 1981, Israel concluded a "strategic co-operation" agreement with the USA. That prodded her into a large-scale war against Lebanon in 1982. The aggression against Lebanon intensified the internal struggle in Israel and worsened her financial and economic position. There was an early parliamentary election in July 1984, in which the Labour Party gained a slight advantage over the Likud bloc. After the elections, the two parties achieved a compromise arrangement to form a government of "national unity".

In foreign affairs, Israel put herself into an extremely complicated position. A considerable proportion of the developing nations, especially those of Africa and Asia, did not maintain normal relations with Israel, denouncing her expansionist policy.

## THE COUNTRIES OF AFRICA

Prior to the Second World War, almost all the 50 countries of Africa had been under the colonial rule of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain. Egypt, Liberia and Ethiopia (seized by the Italians in 1936) and the Union of South Africa were nominally independent. Africa attracted foreign capital by its immense natural wealth and cheap manpower. Monopolies made stupendous superprofits by exploiting its population.

All sections of the African population, the mass of the people, above all, suffered from foreign oppression in one way or another. The peasants, deprived of land, were ruthlessly exploited by the white plantation owners. The emergent working class had to toil from dawn to dusk for a mere pittance. The national bourgeoisie and local intellectuals (a rather sparse group) were humiliated and oppressed. The local feudals, although they collaborated with the colonizers, were also resentful of their domination.

The indigenous population of the colonies was totally or almost totally deprived of all social and political rights. Their living conditions remained so hard that many died from starvation, backbreaking toil and diseases. Most of the Africans had no opportunity to receive education, no access to health care, and nothing beyond primitive dwellings to live in. Colonial rule down the years cost dear to the African peoples. Suffice it to note that the population in a number of colonies had dwindled by half.

Yet the peoples of Africa never resigned themselves to colonial domination and kept on fighting for their liberation. This movement intensified most after the

Second World War. With the war over, the exploitation of the African peoples increased tremendously. That was due to the colonial powers' increased demand for raw materials, food and cheap manpower. They expanded the production of minerals and valuable crops. The peasants were robbed of their land on a mass scale. Forced labour became widespread.

US monopolies were most active in plundering the African mainland. They struck root in British, French and Belgian colonies and laid hold on uranium ore mining in the Congo, mining industries in Northern Rhodesia, oil-fields of Ethiopia, and the rich resources of French and Portuguese colonies. The intensification of colonial oppression brought about a sweeping upsurge of the African national liberation movement. The emergence and development of the world socialist system, the collapse of colonialism in Asia, and the mounting revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries gave a powerful fillip to the development of the liberation struggle in Africa.

## § 1. The Countries of Northern Africa

*Egypt*, which was nominally declared independent in 1922, remained virtually dependent on Britain, after the Second World War, which bound her by fettering contractual obligations. Power belonged to reactionary feudal and comprador elements. The Egyptian King, Farouk, was under British influence as well. The Saad Party, whose leaders were at the head of the government, represented the interests of big feudals and the comprador bourgeoisie. The Wafd Party, expressing the mood of the national bourgeoisie and certain groups of the landed aristocracy, abided by reformist and collaborationist notions, showing itself irresolute and inconsistent in the struggle. Communist organisations were small and scattered. A democratic trade union organisation, a Congress of Egyptian Workers' Unions, sprang up in 1946, and so did a National Students' Committee. There was an active Muslim Brotherhood association abiding by cruel terrorist tactics.

There was a sharpening anti-imperialist struggle in

Egypt in 1946, spearheaded against the attempt of the Egyptian authorities and Great Britain to sign a mutual defence treaty. Workers and students turned out for demonstrations, demanding the British withdrawal from Egypt. The authorities reacted to it by shooting demonstrators, arrests and bans on the activities of patriotic organisations. However, the Anglo-Egyptian treaty was prevented from being concluded. The situation became strained again because of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, in which Egyptian troops were defeated. The hatred of various population groups, including those in the armed forces, for the regime increased. The Muslim Brotherhood launched their terrorist acts. The Egyptian head of government, Mahmoud Fahmy Nokrashy of the Saad Party, was killed on December 28, 1948.

There were parliamentary elections in Egypt in January 1950, which were won by the Wafd Party. It had its leader, Mustapa Nahas, at the head of the government. On October 15, 1951, the Parliament passed a Bill Abrogating the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 and two agreements on Great Britain's and Egypt's condominium over Sudan (dating from 1899). The British refused to recognise the Bill and set about enlarging the area of operation of their forces. It was at that time that an armed struggle began to unfold in Egypt. There were mass demonstrations in cities. However, the Wafdists were not prepared for resolute action.

Leadership of the struggle passed to democratic army elements, a secret organisation Free Officers, formed back in 1949. On July 23, 1952, the Free Officers, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Abdel Gamal Nasser, relying on army units, carried out a coup. King Farouk was deposed, the property of the royal household was confiscated and all estate privileges were abrogated. Initially, the government, headed by General Neguib, which came to power, expressed the interests of the national bourgeoisie and laid emphasis on the encouragement of local capitalists, while offering certain privileges to foreign capitalists as well.

However, there was no unity among the leaders of the new regime. One trend, represented by Neguib, considered the revolution over, while another, headed by Nasser, wanted it to go on. It was the revolutionary democratic

wing, led by Nasser, that took over national leadership in the wake of a political crisis in February-April 1954. That accelerated the process of consolidation of Egypt's political and economic independence. In October 1954, Britain had to sign an accord with Egypt for the withdrawal of troops from the Suez Canal zone. The withdrawal was completed in June 1956. That was a great victory for the Egyptian people.

Democratic social and political reforms were in progress. An agrarian reform began to be carried out in 1952. Great attention was given to promoting the advance of the national economy and creating the public sector. A new Constitution was adopted on June 23, 1956, and Nasser was elected President. Thereupon, the government started to nationalise foreign property. The Suez Canal, which was in the hands of British and French capitalists, was nationalised on July 26, 1956. Britain, France and Israel launched an armed invasion against Egypt in reaction to that on October 29-November 7, 1956. The resistance of the Egyptian people and their armies and resolute support for Egypt by the world's progressive forces made the aggressors to retreat. The armed invasion failed.

Egypt went on to nationalise banks, industrial enterprises and foreign-owned transport services. A public sector began to develop and economic planning was introduced. The Arab states were consolidating their forces. In February 1958, Egypt and Syria joined to establish a United Arab Republic. The aim was to stand up against the colonialists. However, the Egyptian bourgeoisie intended to spread its influence to the Syrian economy which subsequently caused this union to break.

In the early 1960s, Egypt entered a new stage of her development. Decrees to nationalise banks and major enterprises were adopted in July 1961. About 85 per cent of industrial output was produced at the enterprises of the public sector by 1965. The new Land Reform Law (of July 25, 1961), which further restricted maximum landownership, was an instrument of great importance. The Charter of the National Action, adopted in 1962, officially proclaimed that "scientific socialism is the suitable style for finding the right method leading to progress".

The government moved to raise the living standard

of the working class and broaden its social rights. Arbitrary dismissal of workers was banned, a basic minimum wage fixed, and a 7-hour working day, paid leaves and pensions introduced. Representatives of factory workers and office staffs were granted an opportunity to share in management. Free tuition was introduced at all educational establishments.

A mass political organisation, the Arab Socialist Union, appeared in 1963. Distribution of Marxist literature was allowed. Egyptian Marxists became legally involved in national life. A new Constitution, declaring the country a democratic socialist state, was adopted in 1964. The Constitution proscribed any form of exploitation.

Egypt's switch-over to the track of progressive development enabled her to secure quite important achievements within a short space of time. New industries, as iron and steel, petroleum, chemical, electrical engineering, and machine-building, sprang up. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries lent great assistance to Egypt's economic development. Nearly 100 industrial enterprises, including the Aswan High Dam on the Nile and the Helwan Steel Plant, were constructed with Soviet assistance.

In June 1967, Israel committed yet another act of aggression against Egypt and other Arab countries. The defeat in that war had a telling effect on Egypt's domestic position. But Nasser and his followers succeeded in resisting the reactionary elements that had reared their head. A Declaration of March 30, published in 1968, brought with it further measures to restrict capital. The agrarian reform was carried a stage ahead again in 1969. The maximum plot of land allowed to be held in individual ownership was set at 50 hectares. But Nasser suddenly died on September 28, 1970. After his death, political infighting intensified.

Anwar Sadat, who became the nation's President, strayed away from Nasser's progressive course. Many of the former President's followers were dismissed and some convicted. There was a purge of the civil service and its reorganisation. A new Constitution was adopted on September 11, 1971. Under it, the country received its present name—the Arab Republic of Egypt. Workers and students responded to the offensive of the rightist forces with strikes and demonstrations. There were

clashes between students and police in January 1973. At first Sadat stood by Nasser's foreign policy line. A Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation was concluded between the USSR and Egypt in 1971. But soon afterwards, the new Egyptian leadership began to change tack in foreign affairs. The country was opened to foreign capital, and opponents of Soviet-Egyptian friendship became active. Egypt began to depart from the policy framed in agreement with other Arab countries, including that of Middle East settlement. In March 1976, President Sadat unilaterally terminated the Soviet-Egyptian treaty.

From the middle of 1974 on, Sadat was carrying out measures to promote a free market economy. Political parties based on the Arab Socialist Union were allowed to be created in 1976, yet under government control. Somewhat later the Arab Socialist Union was abolished.

Sadat was increasingly at loggerheads with progressive Arab regimes and inclined to seek separatist co-operation with Israel. There was an armed conflict between Egypt and Libya in 1977. In 1978 Sadat signed the Camp David Agreements with the USA and Israel, and in 1979—a peace treaty with Israel. These documents were interpreted in the Arab world as betrayal of the common interests. The Arab states suspended Egypt's membership of the Arab League; many broke off diplomatic relations with her. Strong opposition to Sadat's separatist actions developed in Egypt proper, the Parliament included. Sadat reacted to that in 1981 with wholesale arrests of opposition leaders. Then members of a Muslim extremist organisation arranged the assassination of Sadat during a military parade on October 6, 1981.

Hosni Mubarak was elected the new President on October 13, 1981. Certain liberalisation of the country took place, and measures were taken to put the economy on a healthier footing and bring Egypt into a closer relationship with Arab and socialist countries.

Sudan had been under joint British and Egyptian control since 1899. The British, however, bossed the show just like colonisers, as a matter of fact. At the same time, the situation in Egypt influenced that of Sudan. After the end of the Second World War, Sudan's national patriotic forces demanded the withdrawal of the British troops, independence and establishment of a sovereign



government. Many leaders of the liberation movement spoke up for Sudan to be united with Egypt. The political parties and trade unions were consolidating themselves in that movement. In 1948, the British authorities came up with a draft constitutional reform in Sudan and held elections for an Executive Council with half the seats belonging to the Sudanese, and the other half, to the British. A large proportion of the national movement rejected that reform and boycotted the elections.

There was an upsurge of the liberation movement in Sudan in the 1950s under the impact of the victorious Egyptian revolution. In 1953, the British recognised Sudan's right to limited self-determination. The parliamentary election in the same year was won by the National-Union Party whose leader Ismail al-Azhari headed the country's first national government. The British troops and Egyptian contingents left Sudan in 1955. Sudan became internationally active by taking part in the Bandung Conference. On January 1, 1956, Sudan was declared independent.

However, the domestic situation was growing precarious because of the contradictions between the northern (Arab) and southern (Negroid) regions. There was a differentiation also among the political parties, while working people were stepping up their struggle for their interests. These circumstances induced the Sudanese Army Command to stage a coup on November 17, 1958. A military government with General Ibrahim Abboud at its head came to power. An anti-democratic regime was installed. The doors were thrown wide open to foreign capital. All that held up Sudan's development as an independent state.

The military dictatorship could not resolve the problems facing Sudan. A civil war broke out in the south. At the same time a working-class and democratic movement was rising in the north and in the centre. A general strike of an anti-dictatorial character was held in 1964 in response to an appeal from the Communist Party of Sudan. It involved the widest sections of the population, including some army units. The strike escalated into an uprising, in the course of which power passed to the transitional government of the United National Front on October 30, 1964. However, a struggle between the left and the right

was developing both in the government and in the nation. In 1969, power passed into the hands of progressively-minded leaders. Communists wielded great influence in the new government. Important measures were carried through for democratising political life and strengthening economic independence and unity. Sudan was establishing close ties with Arab states and socialist countries. The first five-year plan for national economic development for 1970-1975 was drawn up, foreign banks and trade companies nationalised and the property of millionaires confiscated. The condition of working people improved.

However, under pressure from the rightist forces, President Gaafar Nimeri struck out against the left in 1971. Persecution of progressive leaders began. The government gave the nationalised enterprises back to their former owners. At the same time, Nimeri moved to end the civil war in the south. But he failed to stabilise the national situation. Student unrest, workers' strikes and army plots went on. The civil war flared up again in the south in 1983.

Mass demonstrations and protests took place in Khartoum, the capital of Sudan, following the drastic increase of the prices of bread and other foodstuffs and commodities, announced in March 1985. A general strike began on April 4, 1985, and a military coup occurred later that month. Power was taken over by the military with Colonel-General al-Dahab at their head. The Nimeri Government was disbanded, as was the ruling party, the Sudanese Socialist Union. Political parties and trade unions banned under Nimeri began to act in freedom. They launched a struggle for democratising the country. A coalition government was formed after the Constituent Assembly elections in April 1986. There was yet another coup in the Sudan in 1989.

Libya had been under Italian control before the war. Yet the Libyan people were steadfastly pressing for their country's independence and unity. Under the 1947 Peace Treaty, Italy lost her rights to her African possessions. Western powers intended to break Libya up and make her their own dependency. In the meantime, the socialist countries called for Libya to be granted independence immediately. This demand was supported by the UN General Assembly. A National Constituent As-

sembly opened in Libya on December 25, 1950, which adopted a Constitution (on October 7, 1951). Libya's independence was proclaimed on December 24, 1951, with royal authority (King Idris) preserved.

After independence, foreign capital sought to establish itself in the country's economy, especially in its oil industry. In 1954, the USA obtained sites for military bases on the territory of Libya. Britain, France and Italy concluded fettering agreements with Libya. The discovery of large oil deposits in Libya led to an intensified struggle for control over her resources. It was American capital that secured the most footholds then. At the same time, Libya was developing her relations with Arab countries and socialist nations.

The oil boom stimulated Libya's rapid development. However, the major proportion of the profits derived from the exploitation of her oil resources went to foreign monopolies. The country's economic expansion brought about major social change. The local bourgeoisie and the proletariat as well as the intermediate urban classes and intellectuals were fast growing. Representatives of feudalism were losing their erstwhile significance. Conditions were arising for a mounting anti-imperialist and anti-monarchist movement. The demand of the patriotic forces for the foreign bases on Libyan territory to be closed down was growing back in the 1960s.

There was a sweeping upsurge of the anti-imperialist struggle in 1967, following the Israeli aggression against Arab states. It gave rise to a Committee of Popular Resistance (People's Congress). Royal authority was paralysed for a time. Its attempt to take revenge by intensifying repression did not produce the results expected. On September 1, 1969, the Free Officers organisation carried out a coup, abolishing the monarchy and declaring a Libyan Arab Republic. Power passed into the hands of the Revolutionary Command Council headed by Muammar al-Gaddafi.

Foreign military bases were closed down in Libya after the revolution, fettering agreements were terminated and foreign banks nationalised. The new government took over the control of the exploitation of the country's oil resources and nationalised the property of the Italian colonisers and the royal household. Steps were taken to

promote the public sector of the economy, distribute land to the peasants, and set up co-operatives. All of the nation's natural resources were declared nationalised in 1971. The process of nationalisation, above all, of foreign property, went on in the subsequent years as well.

An Arab Socialist Union, created in 1971, began to operate in the country's political life. A Popular Revolution was launched in 1973, with People's Committees being set up. The civil service system began to be reorganised. A General People's Congress became the nation's supreme law-making body. In March 1977, the Congress endorsed the Declaration of the Establishment of the People's Authority. From 1977 on, the country was named a Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Restrictions were imposed on private property, large-scale and medium commercial bourgeoisie. A campaign of "take-over" of private enterprises by People's Committees was under way since 1978.

Libya's economic development proceeded under five-year plans. The aims of the 1981-85 plan were to diversify the economy, carry through an industrialisation programme and achieve self-sufficiency. Oil production became the backbone of the economy. It amounted to 86 million tons in 1980. Steps were taken to improve the material conditions of the population and intensive housing construction went on.

Libya announced a policy of non-alignment in international affairs. She moved to strengthen unity with Egypt and other Arab states. Some headway was made in relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. Libya came out against the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in Europe, above all, in Sicily. In March and April 1986, American aircraft bombed Libyan territory, including Tripoli and Benghazi.

*Algeria.* After the end of the Second World War, the struggle of the Algerian people for their freedom and independence assumed dramatic proportions. An anti-French uprising erupted in Eastern Algeria in May 1945. It proved that all national forces had to be united. In 1954, patriotic forces, including those of the guerrilla movement, created a National Liberation Front (NLF), which launched an armed struggle against the French colonizers on November 1, 1954. A National Liberation

Army was formed soon afterwards. The NLF received support from wide sections of the Algerian population. It comprised the major nationalist parties and organisations. The Algerian Communist Party lent support to the NLF and brought its armed detachments into the National Liberation Army.

On September 19, 1958, the NLF declared Algeria a republic and formed a provisional government. However, the French colonialists continued their war against Algeria, killing over a million Algerian patriots. But nothing could break the Algerian people's dedication to freedom. In 1962, France had to recognise Algeria's right to self-determination as an independent state. The hostilities were ceased. In the referendum of July 1, 1962, the Algerians voted for independence. On July 3, France officially recognised the independence of Algeria. On September 25, 1962, the National Constituent Assembly declared Algeria a People's Democratic Republic (APDR), with Ben Bella, one of the NLF leaders, as head of government.

That started a new period in the history of Algeria. Democratic change began to be made. The businesses of French owners who had fled the country were nationalised. About half the cultivated land became the property of the state. The property of some sections of the Algerian bourgeoisie was also expropriated. The expropriated enterprises and lands were brought under the control of workers' and peasants' self-management committees. The NLF Congress held in April 1964, adopted the National Charter and Statute which said the NLF's aim was to "create a socialist society". Soon afterwards, the Communists joined the NLF.

There were failures and difficulties along with achievements in the course of the early reforms. These led to differences in the NLF and to Ben Bella's replacement on June 19, 1965. Power passed into the hands of the Revolutionary Council under Houari Boumedienne. The Revolutionary Council came up with a draft agrarian reform and nationalised pits and mines, as well as oil and gas marketing enterprises. By the end of 1968, 80 per cent of industry and 60 per cent of agriculture belonged to the public sector. Algeria began fast economic growth. A co-operative movement gained ground in the

countryside. A new Constitution of the APDR was approved on November 19, 1976.

Houari Boumedienne died in 1978. He was succeeded by Chadli Bendjedid, elected in 1979. The major efforts on in the APDR in the early 1980s were to upgrade economic management and enhance the efficiency of social production. The NLF Congress in 1983 projected the major guidelines for national development in 1985-89.

In foreign affairs, the APDR committed itself to a policy of non-alignment. It was building up links with states belonging to differing systems and giving much attention to unity of action with Arab nations. Notable headway was made in relations with the USSR and other socialist states.

Tunisia remained France's protectorate after the war. But the French authorities carried out a number of reforms there, and attracted Tunisians into the job of administration. The country's progressive forces came out for the abolition of the protectorate regime and for Tunisia to be granted the right to form its own national government. However, the national bourgeois parties did not frame any clear-cut programmes. Only in 1949 did the Neo Destour Party and its leader, Habib Ben Ali Bourguiba, speak out for agreement with France on the stage-by-stage granting of independence to Tunisia. When, however, the French government refused, the party called on the people to fight for it. The Tunisians held a general anti-French strike in December 1951. The colonial authorities responded by arresting and shooting progressive leaders, as Farhad Hashed, a trade union leader, who was killed in 1952.

But the reign of terror, far from bringing the Tunisians into submission, led to the national liberation movement entering a new phase, that of armed struggle. Combat groups sprang up and united within a National Liberation Army. Then the French tried the method of reforms once again. Late in July 1954, the government of France accorded an internal autonomy to Tunisia. Tunisia obtained sovereignty in home affairs. But the national forces demanded full independence. France recognized the independence of Tunisia on March 20, 1956. A National Constituent Assembly was elected. Habib Bourguiba be-

came the head of the first independent government. The monarchy was abolished in the summer of 1957 and Tunisia became a republic. In 1959, the Tunisian Parliament approved the country's Constitution.

In the process of consolidating independence, the government of Tunisia nationalised a number of foreign companies and began to introduce economic planning. Agrarian innovations were carried out in the countryside in the interest of some sections of the peasants and the creation of co-operatives was encouraged.

Reforms which came to be known as Destour socialism were carried out since 1962. From 1964 on, the Neo Destour Party was known as the Socialist Destour Party. Priority attention was given to development of the public sector. An Act on the Appropriation of All Foreign-owned Lands was adopted in 1964. But as early as the late 1960s, faced by increased differences within his party, Bourguiba renounced the "socialist" experiment and restored the freedom of private enterprise. In 1975, he was elected a life president.

There was a major upsurge of strike struggles in Tunisia late in 1977 and early in 1978, which had been provoked by the worsening material condition of working people. A general strike began on January 26, 1978, with clashes between workers and police and the army. Arrests of trade union leaders began. Opposition insurgent groups rose in the area of Gafsa early in 1980. At the same time, there was a straining of Tunisian-Libyan relations.

Some changes took place since the early 1980s. Bourguiba dropped the one-party system which had been implanted since independence and allowed the activities of other political parties, including the Communist Party. But the national situation did not become stable. Popular unrest as a reaction to the rising prices of primary necessities occurred again late in 1983 and early in 1984.

In international affairs, Bourguiba was mostly preoccupied with promoting links with the West. Yet diplomatic relations with the USSR were established in 1956. Relations with France remained tense. There was even an armed conflict in 1961 because of the French reluctance to evacuate the Bizerte military base. Still the base was dismantled, after all, in 1963. Tunisia joined the

Non-Aligned Movement, advanced co-operation with Arab countries, spoke up against the Israeli aggression and established close relations with the Palestinian Resistance Movement.

Morocco, like Tunisia, was France's protectorate. Some of her territory was under Spanish control. There was a process of consolidation of Morocco's national forces after the end of the war. The bourgeois nationalist Istiqlal Party became active. A Democratic Independence Party arose in 1946. The Communist Party of Morocco came up with a manifesto in 1946, calling for a united national front to be created. In 1947, the Moroccan Sultan, Mohammed Ben Youssef Sidi, spoke out for the nation's right to independent existence. The role of Morocco's trade unions increased. So did the intensity of strike action in 1947-1948. The French authorities reacted to the mounting national struggle with severe repression. In 1951, they carried out wholesale arrests of national leaders. Pressure was brought to bear on the Sultan as well. On August 20, 1953, the Sultan was deported from Morocco. However, that act stirred the entire population. Armed detachments began to be formed. In 1955, the French authorities had to reinstate Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef on the throne. And then on March 2, 1956, they signed the Joint Declaration on Granting Independence to the French Zone of Morocco. A month later an identical declaration was signed by Spain in respect of her zone. The international status of Tanger was abolished on October 29, 1956 (in 1957 it was incorporated in Morocco).

National government bodies and an army were established in Morocco after independence. In 1957, the Sultan assumed the title of King. The Royal Charter, guaranteeing to all basic freedoms, was adopted in 1958, and elections were held in 1960. Steps were taken to promote economic growth and to end illiteracy. In the early 1960s Morocco got the French and Spanish bases dismantled. However, US strong points remained.

Morocco carried through economic development plans and nationalised railways, power plants and some lands. National industry, including the public sector, made a headway. The new King, Hassan II, brought up a provisional Constitution in 1961. Parliamentary elections were



held in 1963. However, the internal political situation became strained right afterwards. The royal authorities cracked down on the opposition. On July 7, 1965, the King declared a national state of emergency and dissolved Parliament. But the situation remained tense. Working people were holding strikes and demonstrations. In 1968, the Communists organised themselves into a Party of Liberation and Socialism which, however, was banned.

The state of emergency was lifted in 1970. The rights of Parliament and the government were somewhat enlarged under the new Constitution adopted in 1972. However, the opposition was seeking greater freedoms. There were attempted coups in the early 1970s. That induced the King to come forward with a programme of economic and political reforms. In March 1973, he issued a Decree on the "Moroccanisation" of the economy. In consequence, the state capitalist sector was enlarged. Subsequently, the administrative and judicial systems were reformed. The Party of Progress and Socialism began to operate legally in August 1974. However, mass discontent with the regime led to more popular risings in the early half of the 1970s to the early 1980s. There was a general strike on June 20, 1981, with clashes between working people and police and army units. The authorities once more launched reprisals against progressive leaders. There were further popular risings in Morocco in January 1984, in protest against the soaring cost of living.

In foreign affairs Morocco was conducting a policy of positive neutrality, keeping out of blocs and working together with the developing nations within the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement. Morocco spoke out against the Israeli aggression. Her armed units participated in action to resist the aggressors in 1967 and 1973. In 1976, Spain turned over Western Sahara to Morocco and Mauritania. But on the territory of Western Sahara, Moroccan forces got involved in an armed struggle with the detachments of the Polisario Front pressing for the establishment of a Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. That strained Morocco's relations with Algeria and some other African states. On February 17, 1987, Morocco ratified the treaty on establishing a regional political and economic organisation—Maghreb Union (Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia).

## § 2. The Countries of Tropical and Southern Africa

After the end of the Second World War, much of Tropical and Southern Africa remained under colonial rule. The outflow of food from those countries increased, and so did the production of raw materials, and plants and factories were built. The working class began to grow at a fast pace, the national bourgeoisie advanced and the local intellectual contingent built up.

However, the colonizers were in no mood to leave their possessions. They confined themselves to certain manoeuvring. The metropolitan countries prepared various plans for the development of their overseas possessions. But those were plans for more effective plundering of African countries. Promises were given about introducing democratic change in the colonies and Constitutions were brought forward to enable individuals of African extraction to participate in advisory bodies under governors. Some population groups received voting rights. There was increased attention of colonial powers to the white settlers as the pillars of their domination of the colonies.

But the process of African awakening could no longer be stopped. The standards of organisation of the African national movement were appreciably rising from the mid-1940s on. The Fifth Pan-African Congress, meeting in October 1945, had quite an important part to play in this respect. The Congress, issued an Appeal to the Workers, Peasants and Intellectuals of the Colonies demanding political and economic independence. Organisations of national forces were created in a number of countries shortly afterwards. The largest and most influential of them was the African Democratic Assembly, which had arisen in the French colonies of Western and Equatorial Africa in 1946. The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, the United Gold Coast Congress, the Tanganyika Africans Association, the National Congress of Nyasaland, the Sudanese Congress, the Kenya African Union, to mention just a few, were formed in those years. A peasant, youth and women's movements emerged. The role of the working class and its trade union organisations and political parties rose considerably.

The national organisations demanded independence for

African colonies within the lifetime of one generation. The struggle went on against the expropriation of land, monstrous exploitation of workers, forced labour, for the withdrawal of colonial troops, the removal of military bases, for constitutional reforms, democratic and trade union rights, against racism and on many other issues. They were all grouped behind the major demand for an end to foreign dependence.

All kinds of methods and means, ranging from strikes to armed rebellions, were used in the struggle. There was a major anti-colonial uprising in Madagascar in 1947-1948. In Kenya, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Guinea and other countries, the struggle assumed massive and large-scale proportions. The colonizers were ruthlessly suppressing the liberation struggle of African peoples, the British made themselves "famous" by their action in Kenya, the Belgians in the Congo, the French in Madagascar. But the struggle kept on mounting.

National forces were also consolidating themselves in the British dominion of the Union of South Africa. The African National Congress, the Communist Party of South Africa and trade unions were getting more active. African miners of Transvaal gold fields staged the biggest strike by the standards of the day in August 1946. White racists, faced by an upsurge of the working-class and liberation movement, moved to strengthen their positions in the Union of South Africa. Their organisation, the National Party, put the theory and practice of apartheid (insulation) at the bedrock of its programme. A National Party government was formed as a result of parliamentary elections in 1948. Under an Act of 1949, the Union of South Africa annexed South-West Africa (Namibia). A whole system to practise apartheid was created in the Union of South Africa in the 1950s. Under the Group Areas Act of 1950, Africans were driven off the territories the racists found to be of interest to them. Black people began to be chased out of large cities into places reserved for them outside city limits. The economic rights of Africans as well as their right to education and access to culture were restricted. Mixed marriages were banned under the law. A witch-hunt against anti-racist organisations began.

The apartheid policy put a sting into the national

struggle in the Union of South Africa. In 1955, the national forces held a Congress of the People of South Africa, which adopted a Freedom Charter. It contained a programme for creating a democratic state. African peasants came into action. The solidarity of the Black and other coloured population of the Union of South Africa was growing. Some representatives of the white population joined them in fighting apartheid. However, the racists intensified reprisals against the national, working-class and democratic movement.

*Independent nation-states formed.* Independent nation-states began to be established in Tropical Africa in the late 1950s. It was the *Gold Coast (Ghana)* that was the first British colony to become independent, on March 6, 1957. The struggle for liberation had been organised by the People's Party led by Kwame Nkrumah. Founded in 1949, the People's Party carried through a number of mass anti-British campaigns. In the early 1950s, the British authorities agreed to a local government being created. Kwame Nkrumah became its head in March 1952. In 1953, the Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast sent a request to the British authorities to grant it independence. But it was as late as 1956 that Britain agreed to grant dominion status to the Gold Coast. In 1960, the country became a republic.

Ghana set out on the track of progressive development. It launched the first five-year plan in 1959, aimed at laying the foundations of economic independence.

A congress of the national organisations of French Black Africa in October 1946 proclaimed the creation of a Democratic Rally of Africa (DRA). The programme of that organisation provided for action to achieve Africa's political, economic and social liberation. The DRA played an important part in the anti-colonial struggle. The colonial authorities cracked down on it. In February 1949, they arrested some of its leaders and put them on trial. Incidents involving bloodshed were provoked in a number of African towns early in 1950. But the DRA was not crushed.

Workers and peasants of French colonies were increasingly active in the liberation struggle. On November 3, 1952, African workers held a 24-hour strike which compelled France to produce a labour code for her overseas

territories. The First Farmers' Congress of West Africa was held in January 1955. The mounting mass grass-root movement constrained France in 1956 to enlarge the rights of the territorial assemblies of the French colonies and to create government councils. In 1958, President de Gaulle ordered a referendum on a new French Constitution in the French African colonies of Southern Sahara. In the referendum, the people of Guinea voted against the Constitution, for independent development.

On October 2, 1958, the territorial assembly of *Guinea* declared that country independent. The leader of the Democratic Party, Sékou Touré, formed a national government. The Constitution of the Republic of Guinea was adopted on November 12, 1958. The overriding task before the Guinean people was to advance the economy and ensure the country's self-determined development. A three-year plan of national economic development was worked out and implemented in 1960-1962. The land, banks, insurance companies, and the diamond-mining industry were nationalised, and a monopoly of foreign trade, wholesale trade within the country and, partly, retail trade was established. Electric power stations and urban waterworks were then nationalised. Co-operatives began to be established in the countryside. The state helped peasants with agricultural implements.

The achievement of independence by Ghana and Guinea produced a tremendous impression on African peoples. Their solidarity in the anti-colonial struggle increased, and international conferences of African countries were called at regular intervals. The First All-African People's Conference in Accra (December 1958) put forward the slogan, "Independence Within the Lifetime of Our Generation!" The mounting struggle against colonialism prompted the Second All-African Peoples' Conference in Tunis (January 1960) to come up with a new appeal, "Independence Now!"

The sweeping upsurge of the liberation movement in Africa led to the disintegration of the colonial empires of Britain and France in the 1960s. In 1959, the Federation of Mali and Madagascar demanded recognition of their political independence. National forces of other colonies demanded independence as well. The year 1960 became a kind of watershed in the liberation struggle of African

peoples and it has gone down in history as the "Year of Africa". The *Cameroons*, a trust territory of France, received independence on January 1, 1960. It was followed by the people of *Togo* who won independence on April 27, 1960. The French Sudan and Senegal formed an independent Federation of Mali in June 1960. On August 19, Senegal withdrew from the Federation. The *Republic of Mali* started to make progressive change under the leadership of the Sudanese Union Party led by Modibo Keita.

The steadfast struggle for liberation led to the government of France granting internal autonomy to Madagascar in 1958 and independence in April 1960. In June 1960, Madagascar was declared an independent *Malagasy Republic*. Many states of French West and Equatorial Africa: *Dahomey*, *Niger*, *Upper Volta*, *the Ivory Coast*, *Chad*, *the Central African Republic (Ubangi-Shari)*, *the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville)*, *the Republic of Gabon*, and *the Islamic Republic of Mauritania* gained their independence in August 1960. All of the newly established independent states became members of the UN. The once huge colonial empire of France in Africa virtually ceased to exist. However, France retained a number of important positions in some of her former colonies.

The collapse of the French colonial empire went on parallel with the process of abolition of colonial dependence in African possessions of other states. *Nigeria*, the British colony with the largest population in Africa (35 million), was granted independence on October 1, 1960. As early as 1954, Britain imposed a "Littleton Constitution" on Nigeria, establishing the country's federative structure. Parliamentary elections were held under the Constitution late in 1954, and the first federal government was created. That compromise decision did not suit the national Nigerian forces. Still less so since after the proclamation of independence in 1960, Britain compelled Nigeria to sign a defence agreement allowing her to keep military bases there. This provoked a "No British Bases!" movement.

Tragic events developed in the *Congo*, one of the richest countries of Africa by its natural resources, which was in colonial dependence on Belgium. The Congo's national

forces waged a stout battle to end Belgian rule. In 1956, a group of Congolese intellectuals published a policy document calling for national independence. Political parties were formed in the late 1950s. The National Congolese movement, led by Patrice Lumumba, emerged in September 1958. An uprising in January 1959 undermined the colonial regime. Belgium had to hold a round-table conference with Congolese parties (January-February 1960) which resolved to grant independence to the Congo. Elections in May 1960, were won by the Congolese National Movement. Patrice Lumumba was appointed Prime Minister. The Congo was declared an independent state on June 30, 1960.

But just a few days later, the colonialists provoked disturbances in Leopoldville and other cities of the Congo. Belgium dispatched her troops to the Congo pretending to defend the European population. A reign of terror was launched and the Congo appeared to be in danger of breaking up. The activities of Parliament and government were practically brought to a halt. Lumumba and his closest associates were murdered.

A fierce battle for liberation developed in the countries of East Africa. There was a Mau Mau uprising in Kenya from 1952 to 1956. The British punitive forces killed 11,000 Kenyans and confined over 60,000 to jails and concentration camps. Jomo Kenyatta, the leader of the Kenya African Union, was arrested. Although the uprising was put down, it produced a great impact on the process of gaining independence by the countries under British colonial rule.

Major anti-colonial risings took place in other African colonies as well. Back in 1953, Britain, to retain her domination, created a Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland on the basis of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The national forces rose against that Federation. Large-scale strikes took place in Southern Rhodesia in 1959, and there was an anti-colonial insurrection in Nyasaland.

Fierce fighting raged in Southern Rhodesia late in July 1960. That country's patriots came out against the British administration's ban on the assemblies of the National Democratic Party.

There was a mounting struggle in the Portuguese

colonies. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola was the political organisation that played an important part in that struggle in Angola. An anti-colonial uprising broke out, giving rise to a national liberation struggle, early in 1961. A national liberation army was created.

Fourteen new independent states appeared in Africa in the wake of the liberation struggles of 1961-69.

Tanganyika and Sierra Leone became independent in 1961, Uganda in 1962, and Zanzibar and Kenya in 1963. In 1964, Zanzibar and Tanganyika merged to form one country, Tanzania. Nyasaland was proclaimed independent in 1964, since known as Malawi, and Northern Rhodesia became Zambia. The Belgian colony of Ruanda-Urundi broke up into two independent states—Ruanda and Burundi (1962). Gambia became independent in 1965; and so did the protectorates of Bechuanaland (Botswana) and Basutoland (Lesotho) in 1966; and Mauritius and the protectorate of Swaziland, as well as Equatorial Guinea in 1968. Lesotho and Swaziland remained monarchies, the rest declared themselves republics.

*The struggle continues.* The African states, now free, encountered big difficulties as they set out to strengthen their independence and create their self-determined economies. The onerous colonial legacy, a low level of productive forces, a multi-structural economy as well as elemental calamities, hunger and diseases went far towards complicating the condition of emergent nations. Besides, neocolonialists strove to keep them dependent. The contradictions between countries were compounded by the development of social antagonisms within them. That was bound to intensify their instability.

The newborn African states gave much attention to promoting co-operation and mutual assistance. To this end, they created An Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in May 1963, which comprised all African states except South Africa. Regional federations appeared at the same time. All that strengthened the positions of African states in the world community.

The 1960s were full of major and conflicting events in the development of emergent nations. By the mid-1960s, Ghana encountered economic difficulties which led to



intensified action by reactionary forces and an armed coup in 1966, Nkrumah had to take shelter in Guinea.

After the establishment of the *United Republic of Tanzania* Julius Nyerere, the leader of the Tanganyika African National Union, became its President. Agricultural co-operatives were declared to be the basic units of society. The land was nationalised. The Arusha Declaration, adopted in 1967, referred to the necessity of ending the exploitation of man by man. Foreign banks and many industrial enterprises were then nationalised.

*Nigeria*, after the proclamation of independence, had a coalition government of Alhaji Tafawa Balewa. It stimulated the development of private enterprise and encouraged the activities of foreign capital. At the same time, there was mounting opposition, urging a different way of development. The Nigerian Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party was formed in 1963. The situation in *Nigeria* became strained after the parliamentary elections of 1964-1965. In 1966, the military carried out two coups. These led to a civil war breaking out in 1967. Separatists opposed the central government, having declared a Republic of Biafra in the Eastern Region in 1967. Only in 1970 was the unity of *Nigeria* restored.

There was a rather involved situation in the *Congo (Zaire)*. The overthrow of progressive governments by reaction and disarray in the economy stimulated armed resistance to the opposition forces. Moïse Tshombe, who suppressed the insurgents, became head of government in July 1964. A regime under President Joseph-Désiré Mobutu was installed in 1965. A Popular Revolution Movement Party was created in 1967, adhering to the ideology of "Mobutism". State capitalism made headway in the *Congo* in that period, with foreign capital attracted on a wide scale.

A one-party system (the Kenya African National Union) was established in *Kenya* after the 1964 elections. Private enterprise was encouraged and foreign capital attracted. The civil service was Africanised, with South Asians driven out. There were anti-Indian activities in the country in 1967. The struggle between the proponents and opponents of capitalist development intensified in the latter half of the 1960s. The Kenya People's Union,

led by J. Oginga Odinga, which had withdrawn from the National Union, proposed carrying out a number of anti-capitalist reforms. But in 1969, the Kenya People's Union was banned and its leader jailed.

*Northern Rhodesia* followed a tortuous road to independence and self-determined development. A United National Independence Party won the 1964 elections, following the proclamation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Its leader, Kenneth D. Kaunda, became head of government. The country was declared independent on October 24, 1964, and renamed *Zambia*. The system of racial discrimination and segregation was then abolished. Great attention was given to the development of the copper industry. *Zambia* came to occupy one of the leading places in the alliance of African states.

Large-scale struggles for liberation went on in the territories which had not yet gained their independence. The armed struggle in *Angola* was hindered by the action of separatist groups: the Angolan National Liberation Front led by Holden Roberto, and the National Union for the Complete Independence of Angola (UNITA). But it was the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), with Agostinho Neto at its head, that was increasingly the true leading force of the struggle for liberation. In *Mozambique*, the struggle was led by FRELIMO (the Mozambique Liberation Front). An armed struggle under its leadership against the Portuguese colonialists began in 1964. The national liberation movement in *Southern Rhodesia* was gaining in scope. A Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), led by Joshua Nkomo, appeared there in 1961. A Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), with J. D. Mubutu in the leadership, broke away from it in 1963. Both organisations were banned. The regime that struck root in *Southern Rhodesia* at the time was a white minority dictatorship ruled by a Rhodesian Front Party government under Ian Smith, which was seeking independence from Britain. When the British Labour Government refused that demand, the South Rhodesian racists declared the country's "independence" on November 11, 1965. Soon afterwards, the ZANU and ZAPU, having agreed on the unity of action, started an armed struggle in

Southern Rhodesia, demanding a government of the African majority.

The movement against the apartheid in the South African Republic (as the Union of South Africa came to be called since 1961) was mounting. In the 1960s, the racist authorities decided to transform the reservations into bantustans which were referred to as African nation-states, said to have a prospect of eventually becoming "independent". The first bantustan, Transkei, was created in 1963. Nationalist forces were perfectly right in qualifying that move as apartheid extended.

Furthermore, the early half of the 1960s saw intensified violence and reprisals against progressive leaders and organisations. The country was being fast militarised. It had its first nuclear reactor built in 1965. The South African authorities intervened in the internal affairs of newborn African states and helped suppress the national liberation struggle. In those circumstances, the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress, whose activities had been banned, went for armed struggle.

*Achievements and difficulties of the emergent nations.* The break-up of colonial empires was over in the 1970s. National-democratic revolutions took place in a number of countries. On the other hand, the forms of exploitation of Africa by transnational corporations were growing more subtle.

The Portuguese colonial empire collapsed, too, in the mid-1970s. The armed national liberation struggle brought independence to Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé and Príncipe. The political forces which came to power in these countries carried out major social and economic reforms in the interest of the mass of the people.

The 1974 Revolution in Ethiopia, which overthrew the monarchy and brought revolutionary-democratic forces to power, was a great event in the life of the continent. Jibuti was declared independent in 1977. The armed liberation struggle in South Africa intensified. The Patriotic Front triumphed in Southern Rhodesia in 1980. The country became independent and has since been known as Zimbabwe. An armed struggle of SWAPO detachments for independence unfolded on the territory

of Namibia since the late 1970s. The struggle against apartheid in South Africa went a stage up. African peoples gained notable achievements in the national liberation struggle and in organising their independent development. Yet, at the same time, they have encountered considerable difficulties.

In 1974, the revolutionary government of Portugal recognized Angola's right to self-determination and independence. The armed struggle was stopped. A transitional government was established in January 1975. However, the UNITA and FNLA leaders attempted to remove the MPLA from national leadership. They set out to achieve their aim by force of arms in July 1975. But the MPLA organised the people for resistance to the breakaway factions and Angola was proclaimed a People's Republic on November 11, 1975. Its first President was Agostinho Neto and, after his death—José Eduardo dos Santos (in September 1979).

The newborn republic came up against serious difficulties. The South African racists launched outright aggression against it. Relying on assistance from the USSR, Cuba and other friendly nations, the PRA struck back at the aggressors, driving them out by the end of March 1976. But there were further acts of aggression against Angola. It was in this context that the process of building a new way of life began in the PRA. All the major enterprises of the steel, textile, sugar, fishing and other industries, which belonged to foreign capital, were nationalised as early as 1976. Private banks have also been nationalised, and the land of big landowners was expropriated. All natural resources were declared to be the property of the state. Economic planning was introduced (plans were made for 1978-1980 and for 1981-1985). The Congress of the MPLA-PT (Labour Party), 1985). The Congress of the MPLA-PT, approved this as the Party has been known since 1977, approved this as the Party has been known since 1980. The PRA has made economic policy in December 1980. The PRA has made notable headway in the social, economic and political fields since independence, but because of unending acts of aggression by South Africa, the country's condition remained hard and the people's standard of living low. For a number of years Cuban troops were helping Angola uphold her independence. The improved international situation in the latter half of the 1980s made it

possible to settle the conflict in Southern Africa. A stage-by-stage withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola began under the agreement signed between Angola and Cuba on December 22, 1988.

Ghana in 1969 had a Congress Party government under Kofi Busia. It was committed to a free market economy and suppressed progressive organisations. But on January 13, 1972, the military staged a coup and passed power to a National Redemption Council headed by Colonel Ignatius Acheampong. The new government argued for a society free from exploitation. But it failed to improve the nation's economic condition and was replaced on July 5, 1978, by a new government under General F. Akuffo. The political activity of parties and organisations was allowed shortly afterwards, and preparations got under way for parliamentary elections. But on July 4, 1979, there was another military coup. Its organisers, junior officers and soldiers, formed an Armed Forces Revolutionary Council as the highest organ of power, shot the two previous heads of government and started a purge of the armed forces and the civil service.

In that setting, the People's National Party came to power, following the elections of June 18, 1979. A representative of that party, H. Limann, became the nation's President. But the new leaders' inability to set the country on the track of progressive development led to yet another coup on December 31, 1981. It resulted in a Provisional National Defence Council being set up, headed by Jerry John Rawlings. Committees for the defence of the revolution were then established to tackle corruption and abuse of power.

A number of progressive reforms have been carried out in Guinea since independence. In November 1970, the people of Guinea beat off an act of armed aggression by Portugal. But there were mistakes both in national economic development and administration. The Party-State Manifesto of 1975 announced the decision to merge the institutions of the party and the state. Accordingly, the Democratic Party of Guinea began to be called the Party-State of Guinea from 1978. In that period, the country faced major economic difficulties. The Party's influence with the masses declined. There was a military coup on April 3, 1984, soon after the death of A. Sékou

Touré. Power passed to the Military Committee of National Recovery. Lausana Conte became President. The Democratic Party of Guinea and other organisations were dissolved. The new authorities promoted private enterprise and attracted foreign capital. State-owned enterprises began to be partly denationalised. But there was no improvement of the nation's economic condition, nor any major shifts in foreign policy.

There was a certain stabilisation of the regime in the Congo (Zaire) in the late 1960s. All power was in the hands of Mobutu and his associates. Under the 1967 Constitution, the Congo was declared a unitary state with predominant presidential authority. It has been known as the Republic of Zaire since October 27, 1971. The ruling Popular Movement of the Revolution was the only political party. Mobutu was declared its Chairman in 1974.

The country was developing in conformity with the official doctrine of "genuine Zairean nationalism". It argued for economic independence which, in actual practice, implied a public sector combined with private enterprise and involvement of foreign capital. The policy which was proclaimed in Zaire in 1975 was that of "radicalising the revolution", which meant tightening state control over the economy. But the one announced in 1976 was that of "stabilising the revolution" which allowed foreign enterprise in Zaire. In consequence, the positions of foreign capital (that of the USA, Britain, Japan and Belgium) were strengthened.

The hard material condition of the bulk of the population was bound to strain the social situation. There was peasant and student unrest in 1970, and later on, in 1977, 1978 and 1981—uprisings in various regions. In 1977 and 1978, the USA, France, Belgium and some other NATO countries sent their troops to Zaire to quell a rebellion in Shaba Province.

Zambia found a way to follow in the late 1960s—early 1970s. The ruling United National Independence Party put forward a concept of "Zambian humanism", laying down the principles of African democratic socialism to be built in that country. The activity of foreign capital was suppressed, and domestic enterprise was supported. The copper industry was partly nationalised.

The issues involved in the country's development were

being fought out within the ruling party. But in spite of mounting opposition, Kaunda got a new Constitution adopted in 1973, which formalised a one-party system. Later in the same year, he was re-elected to the presidency. Soon afterwards, insurance business, contract building organisations, several big private companies in the manufacturing industry and some other enterprises were brought under state control. The lands which had belonged to European settlers and farmers were turned over into the ownership of the state. Some measures were taken to improve the material condition of the working people.

Opposition forces moved into higher gear again in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, which could be seen, notably, in the 1978 and 1983 election campaigns. However, Kaunda succeeded in retaining the presidency.

Upon the declaration of independence of Zimbabwe, its government enunciated a policy of national reconciliation and unity of forces. Its 1981 programme laid emphasis on making the country self-sufficient in food. A minimum wage rate was established, new labour legislation enacted, and steps taken to promote primary education which became compulsory and free. The authorities moved to restrict the activity of foreign capital. Industry was progressively nationalised. In the countryside, the lands were redistributed and co-operatives established. In international affairs, Zimbabwe was following an anti-colonial course and participating in the Non-Aligned Movement. The Eighth Non-Aligned Summit took place in Harare, the nation's capital, in 1986. President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe was elected Chairman of the Movement for three years. Zimbabwe built up links with socialist countries.

Kenya saw Jomo Kenyatta's one-man rule tightened in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. The top leadership imposed its control over all national economic and political life. However, the rising cost of living, mounting unemployment and ethnic rivalry stimulated opposition trends, which was particularly manifest in the late 1970s. Kenyatta died in August 1978. He was succeeded by Daniel Moi who came up with a concept which combined loyalty to the path chosen with a pursuit of greater influence with the masses. The new government still

restricted the activities of the opposition forces. A one-party system was officially proclaimed in 1982. So was Kenya's foreign policy of non-alignment and neutrality.

The declaration of independence in the Congo (*Brazzaville*) led to a pitched battle over the choice of the road to follow. The August 1963 Revolution gave rise to progressive change. The National Revolutionary Movement founded in 1964, became the country's only political party. The French troops were removed from the Congo. The first five-year plan was launched. Some foreign companies were nationalised, though in the face of opposition from reactionary forces. Contradictions came to light within the ruling party, too. Party and political leadership changed on July 31, 1968. Power passed into the hands of the National Council of the Revolution headed by Marien Ngouabi who became the nation's President a little later. The creation of the Congolese Party of Labour was announced at its congress in December 1969. The congress declared the country the People's Republic of the Congo. Its new Constitution was adopted in June 1973.

The country's subsequent development went on in the context of a close confrontation with the opponents of the new regime. Ngouabi was killed in March 1977. Power was thereupon exercised by the Party's Military Committee. Denis Sassou-Nguesso was elected President of the PRC in March 1979. In international relations, the Congo was working for peace and disarmament, participating in the Non-Aligned Movement, and maintaining close ties with socialist countries.

The Ivory Coast (*Côte d'Ivoire*), having gained independence, preserved its close relationship with France. The Democratic Party government under Félix Houphouët-Boigny enunciated a policy of "economic liberalism" which implied combining the development of the public sector with private enterprise and encouraging foreign capital. Social and economic development plans were launched, with emphasis on farming and processing industries. Dependence on France remained. The condition of the masses improved slowly. In the early half of the 1980s, the economic situation worsened, still further straining social relations. In 1986, the country



being fought out within the ruling party. But in spite of mounting opposition, Kaunda got a new Constitution adopted in 1973, which formalised a one-party system. Later in the same year, he was re-elected to the presidency. Soon afterwards, insurance business, contract building organisations, several big private companies in the manufacturing industry and some other enterprises were brought under state control. The lands which had belonged to European settlers and farmers were turned over into the ownership of the state. Some measures were taken to improve the material condition of the working people.

Opposition forces moved into higher gear again in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, which could be seen, notably, in the 1978 and 1983 election campaigns. However, Kaunda succeeded in retaining the presidency.

Upon the declaration of independence of Zimbabwe, its government enunciated a policy of national reconciliation and unity of forces. Its 1981 programme laid emphasis on making the country self-sufficient in food. A minimum wage rate was established, new labour legislation enacted, and steps taken to promote primary education which became compulsory and free. The authorities moved to restrict the activity of foreign capital. Industry was progressively nationalised. In the countryside, the lands were redistributed and co-operatives established. In international affairs, Zimbabwe was following an anti-colonial course and participating in the Non-Aligned Movement. The Eighth Non-Aligned Summit took place in Harare, the nation's capital, in 1986. President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe was elected Chairman of the Movement for three years. Zimbabwe built up links with socialist countries.

Kenya saw Jomo Kenyatta's one-man rule tightened in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. The top leadership imposed its control over all national economic and political life. However, the rising cost of living, mounting unemployment and ethnic rivalry stimulated opposition trends, which was particularly manifest in the late 1970s. Kenyatta died in August 1978. He was succeeded by Daniel Moi who came up with a concept which combined loyalty to the path chosen with a pursuit of greater influence with the masses. The new government still

restricted the activities of the opposition forces. A one-party system was officially proclaimed in 1982. So was Kenya's foreign policy of non-alignment and neutrality.

The declaration of independence in the Congo (Brazzaville) led to a pitched battle over the choice of the road to follow. The August 1963 Revolution gave rise to progressive change. The National Revolutionary Movement founded in 1964, became the country's only political party. The French troops were removed from the Congo. The first five-year plan was launched. Some foreign companies were nationalised, though in the face of opposition from reactionary forces. Contradictions came to light within the ruling party, too. Party and political leadership changed on July 31, 1968. Power passed into the hands of the National Council of the Revolution headed by Marien Ngouabi who became the nation's President a little later. The creation of the Congolese Party of Labour was announced at its congress in December 1969. The congress declared the country the People's Republic of the Congo. Its new Constitution was adopted in June 1973.

The country's subsequent development went on in the context of a close confrontation with the opponents of the new regime. Ngouabi was killed in March 1977. Power was thereupon exercised by the Party's Military Committee. Denis Sassou-Nguesso was elected President of the PRC in March 1979. In international relations, the Congo was working for peace and disarmament, participating in the Non-Aligned Movement, and maintaining close ties with socialist countries.

The Ivory Coast (*Côte d'Ivoire*), having gained independence, preserved its close relationship with France. The Democratic Party government under Félix Houphouët-Boigny enunciated a policy of "economic liberalism" which implied combining the development of the public sector with private enterprise and encouraging foreign capital. Social and economic development plans were launched, with emphasis on farming and processing industries. Dependence on France remained. In the early half of the 1980s, the economic situation worsened, still further straining social relations. In 1986, the country

was named the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire. Its foreign policy was pro-Western.

No sooner had *Madagascar* become an independent Malagasy Republic than it found itself in dispute over the option to choose. The Social Democratic Party government under Philibert Tsiranana tended to promote private enterprise and foreign investment. This course was opposed by the working masses and the Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar. Mass protests by working people and youth throughout the country in May 1972, led to the fall of the Tsiranana Government. Power passed to a military-civilian government under Maj.-Gen. Ramanantsoa. It set course for democracy.

Foreign-backed reactionary elements started a fierce battle against the government. In January 1975, they provoked an army rebellion which was quelled. A Supreme Revolutionary Council under Didier Ratsiraka was formed in Madagascar on June 15, 1975. The Malagasy Socialist Revolutionary Charter was adopted in December 1975, and so was a new Constitution, naming the country the Democratic Republic of Madagascar. Didier Ratsiraka was elected its President.

The nation started consolidating its political and economic independence. Banks and most of commercial and industrial companies were nationalised, a public sector emerged, an agrarian reform got under way, and agricultural co-operativisation was encouraged. A number of measures were directed towards raising the living standard of working people. In 1976, all the organisations adhering to the Charter united in a National Front for the Defence of the Revolution. Other parties and organisations were banned.

The Republic of Mali had a hard road to travel. Important social-economic and political reforms were carried out in the opening years of its independence. But they proved insufficient for overcoming the economic difficulties. That accounted for a growing discontent and serious differences in the nation and in the Sudanese Union party. The result was the coup of November 18, 1968, and the advent to power of a Military Committee of National Liberation under Moussa Traoré. The new national leadership began by suspending the activities of the parties, trade unions and individual

organisations. But from late 1973 on, they went for the restoration of the democratic process in the country. A new Constitution, formalising a one-party system, was adopted in 1974. Thereupon, political prisoners were set free, and a party, the Democratic Union of the Malian People was created. At its congress in 1979, the Party announced that its priority was to build a state of national democracy. Moussa Traoré was elected the nation's president later that year. In 1981-1985, Mali was engaged in carrying through a plan of economic development. Mali was conducting a progressive foreign policy and promoting relations with developing nations as well as capitalist and socialist countries.

The battles for the independence of *Mozambique* reached their decisive stage in the early 1970s. Samora Machel was elected chairman of FRELIMO in 1970. In 1974, the Portuguese revolutionary government signed an agreement with FRELIMO on national independence for Mozambique. But reactionary elements and rival factions still tried to prevent FRELIMO coming to power. However, they were given a fitting rebuff by the national revolutionary forces. The People's Republic of Mozambique was declared on June 25, 1975. It had Samora Machel as president. The basic guidelines for the country's economic policy were worked out at the 3rd FRELIMO Congress in 1977, which transformed FRELIMO into the FRELIMO Party.

Overcoming the difficulties in the way, the Party launched a drive to build up the public sector in the national economy. A Land Tenure Act was adopted, and the banks, foreign trade and individual private enterprises were nationalised. Mozambique's international position came under threat in the early 1980s. Acts of aggression against the PRM were carried out from South Africa. In March 1984, South Africa and Mozambique signed a treaty of non-aggression and good-neighbourliness. But acts of provocation against the PRM continued. Samora Machel died in an air crash in October 1986. Joaquim Chissano became the nation's president. Mozambique was active in the Non-Aligned Movement, and promoted relations with many nations of the world. In *Nigeria*, Yakubu Gowon spoke out in the early 1970s for a return to civilian rule. The economic

plans for 1970-1974 and 1975-1980 set priorities for industrialisation, enhancement of the role of the public sector and Africanisation of the economy. But there was no transition to civilian rule by the mid-1970s. Moreover, a new military coup was staged on July 27, 1975. The government it produced was headed by Brigadier Murtala Muhammed. A purge of the civil service and of the army from corrupt elements began. Strict punishment for bribery was meted out under the law adopted in December 1975. The policy of creating an independent economy was continued. Muhammed's course met with discontent and resistance from the forces of reaction. He was killed in an attempted coup in February 1976. In 1979, the military transferred power to a civilian government. Political parties cropped up. A further military coup was staged, however, on December 31, 1983. The Constitution was suspended and political parties disbanded. Maj.-Gen. Muhamadu Buhari was put at the head of the military government. Yet, in yet another coup, in August 1985, he was replaced by Maj.-Gen. Ibrahim Babangida. The course for the nation to follow came up for debate throughout Nigeria in 1986.

*Senegal* had a government of the Senegalese Progressive Union (SPU) in office since 1960. There was a coup on December 17, 1962. A new Constitution was approved in March 1963, under which Leopold Senghor, the SPU founder, was elected President. The nation was developing in accordance with his concept of African socialism. National development plans were drawn up and carried out in Senegal in the 1960s and 1970s. They were made to depend essentially on foreign investment. But the plans did not produce the result expected. The class struggle sharpened in the country in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. The authorities had to allow the activities of other parties. Leopold Senghor resigned on December 31, 1980. He was succeeded by Abdou Diouf as president, who also headed the Socialist Party of Senegal (as the SPU came to be called since 1976).

*Somalia* followed a contradictory path of development. The government of the independent Somali Republic, headed by Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, the leader of the Somali Youth League, began to restrict the operation of foreign capital, introduced planning into economic de-

velopment, and pronounced itself for a policy of non-alignment in international affairs. However, there was a split in the Somali leadership since 1964. Shermarke was killed in 1969. On October 21, 1969, power passed into the hands of the military with Mohamed Siad Barre at their head. The parties and trade unions were banned, and the parliament dissolved. Somalia was renamed the Somali Democratic Republic. Progressive reforms, comprising the nationalisation of banks, insurance companies, transport and other services, were launched. Price controls were established. A Somali Socialist Revolutionary Party was instituted in 1976. Siad Barre was appointed President of the Republic.

But while going forward with positive processes in domestic and foreign policies, the Somali leadership came out with territorial claims against their neighbours (Ethiopia, Kenya, and Jibuti). In July 1977, they triggered off an armed conflict with Ethiopia. It brought Somalia to grief and, consequently, strained the situation in the country. In 1978, there was an attempted coup in Somalia. In 1980-1982, the authorities introduced a state of emergency.

*Tanzania*. In February 1971, the leadership of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) came up with a document, the General Line of the Party on the Work for Strengthening and Further Development of Tanzanian and African Revolutions. The co-operative movement in the countryside continued, the property of the rich was nationalised, and the incomes of high-paid office staffs were restricted. In 1977, the TANU and the Zan-zibar Afro-Shirazi Party united to form a Revolutionary Party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi, CCM).

In the early 1980s, Tanzania faced increased economic difficulties, with a shortage of food and fuel, corruption and dissipation of resources. The ways to overcome the crisis were indicated at the CCM Congress in October 1982. Tanzania supported the national liberation movement and played an appreciable role in the campaign for disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

Monarchist *Ethiopia* was a backward country with a feudal and serf-owning system after the end of the war. Her population was predominantly rightless people, living

in abject poverty. Eritrea, once an Italian colony, was annexed to it in 1950. Slavery was ended in the 1950s, but not without traces. A new Constitution was adopted in 1955. An agrarian reform began to be drawn up in 1960. The national bourgeoisie was in the process of consolidation and development, the working class was in the making, and its trade union organisations appeared. The growing activity of national forces led to an abortive coup in December 1960. In international relations, Ethiopia conducted a policy of positive neutrality.

The social-economic and political situation in Ethiopia was sharply strained in the first half of the 1970s. Early in 1974 the monarchist regime found itself in crisis. Strikes and demonstrations began in the nation's capital, Addis Ababa, and subsequently elsewhere, escalating into a national-democratic revolution. Armed forces were actively involved in it. Emperor Haile Selassie I was deposed on September 12, 1974 (the monarchy was abolished in 1975). Power was taken over by a Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC).

The victory of the revolution gave rise to a process of far-reaching social and economic change, comprising the nationalisation of banks, insurance companies, major industrial and commercial enterprises and transport services. The land passed into common national ownership. Peasant associations began to be set up. The revolution in Ethiopia came up against stiff resistance from home-grown reactionaries, nationalists (in Eritrea) and outside forces. In February-March 1978, Ethiopia beat off armed aggression by Somalia. In doing so, she was aided by the USSR, Cuba and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

After that, the Ethiopian Revolution moved a stage ahead. Guidelines for the creation of agricultural producers' co-operatives were adopted in 1979. Institutions of national government were being established and a party of working people was in the making. Youth, women's and other community organisations sprang up. The creation of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE) was formalised in 1984. The country's Constitution was drawn up and debated nation-wide and was approved in 1987. It was in the same year that Ethiopia was declared a People's Democratic Republic. Mengistu Haile Mariam,

the leader of the Revolution, became its President. After the Revolution, Ethiopia got actively involved in anti-colonial movement. She signed treaties of friendship and co-operation with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Kenya, Jibuti, and Libya. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries rendered Ethiopia great economic, scientific, technological and cultural assistance.

*The Republic of South Africa* became a developed capitalist country in the post-war period. The apartheid policy, practised by the white minority, met with growing resistance from the majority of the African population, encouraged by the solidarity of all Africa and the peoples of other continents. The mounting liberation movement and the collapse of the last, Portuguese colonial empire brought apartheid in South Africa nearer to its end. There was widespread popular unrest in South Africa in the early 1970s. Strikes took place in big industrial centres. The uprising in Soweto in the middle of 1976 was backed up in many regions of the country. Business life in a number of towns was virtually brought to a standstill by mass strikes in August through October 1976.

In the face of growing anti-racist protest, the South African authorities intensified their repressive tactics, on the one hand, and started manoeuvring in a way, on the other. They counted on breaking up the front of nationalist forces and pressed on with their policy of creating bantustans. The bantustans of Transkei, Boputatswana, Venda, and Ciskei were declared "independent" in 1976-1982. A further six bantustans were expected to be created later on. Pieter Botha, who headed the South African government in 1978, came forward with a programme of reforms. An extension of the civil rights of the coloured and Indian population was announced. A reform of national administration was carried out in 1984 in the wake of a referendum in 1983. The Presidential Council then created comprised representatives of the coloured and Indian population. A tricameral Parliament (for the whites, the coloured and the Indians) was also instituted. But a considerable proportion of the coloured people and Indians were not satisfied with these reforms. Racist extremists, on the other hand, opposed them. South Africa's economic situation worsened in the early 1980s, which stimulated a still harder struggle against



apartheid. It now involved the United Democratic Front, created in 1983, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions established in 1985. In 1984, the liberation movement achieved unprecedented proportions. In July 1985, the authorities even introduced a state of emergency; but in 1986, protests against apartheid were voiced throughout the land. There were more strikes, and more combat operations by the people's army.

In the late 1980s, the governing quarters of South Africa had to move in a way to allow more democracy and soften the apartheid regime. In 1990, Namibia was proclaimed an independent state and became a UN member.

In view of this, the Government of South Africa revised its foreign policy. It agreed on ending intervention in Angola, normalising relations with Mozambique and granting independence to Namibia. Elections for its Constituent Assembly were held under United Nations supervision late in 1989, with SWAPO candidates winning a majority.

## Chapter 8

# THE COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA

### § 1. The Economic and Political Situation in the Countries of Latin America

*The upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement after the end of the war.* The Second World War had a telling impact on the social-economic and political situation of the countries of Latin America. The great distance that separated them from the major theatres of war, the demand for raw materials, industrial and agricultural products and their rising prices created a favourable context for their economies to advance in. Latin American states began to develop their own iron and steel, engineering, petrochemical and power industries. This led to the growth of the national bourgeoisie and the consolidation of its positions in economic and political life.

One particular feature of the post-war economic development of the countries of Latin America was the formation and consolidation of a public sector in their industries. Enterprises in the petroleum industry, railways, mines, public utilities and other units became the property of the state. The major countries of the region were agrarian-industrial capitalist states after the war, but many of them remained agrarian, with pronounced leftovers of semi-feudal relations.

The loss of their former positions in Latin America by European imperialist states facilitated US expansionism into the countries of the continent. US capital established itself as dominant in the key sectors of its economies. The oil resources of Venezuela, copper mines of Chile, Peru, Mexico, the mining industry of Mexico and large tracts of land fell under the control or into full ownership of US monopolies. Along with that, the USA en-

meshed the states of Latin America in a network of all kinds of agreements and treaties of an economic, political or military kind.

US imperialism backed up the reactionary dictatorial regimes in these countries, organised frequent coups and covertly or overtly intervened in their political life. For example, 70-odd military coups were staged in the period of 1945-1970. The armies of Latin American countries played a reactionary role in many cases and served as instruments in the hands of the local oligarchy and foreign imperialism.

All that led to an involved tangle of contradictions building up in the countries of Latin America between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, on the one hand, and between imperialism, the landowning oligarchy, local Big Business and national democratic forces representing the interests of the majority of the population, on the other. It gave rise to a revolutionary process—a movement for an anti-imperialist, agrarian and democratic revolution which could fairly quickly escalate into a socialist revolution.

The revolutionary upsurge throughout the world, generated by the victory over fascism in the Second World War, made itself manifest in the countries of Latin America as well. The driving forces of the anti-imperialist, democratic movement there were the working class, the peasantry, the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie, intellectuals, and progressive army and Catholic elements. The proletariat, which had appreciably grown in numbers, played the leading role in the class and anti-imperialist struggle. It comprised around 20 million people, about one-third of the able-bodied population.

Communist parties existed in most countries. Their total membership early in 1947 was 500,000, compared with 90,000 before the war. One indication of the prestige of the Communist parties was that they were represented in the parliaments of Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, Cuba, Costa Rica, Colombia and Brazil. There were representatives of Communist parties in the governments of Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Cuba.

The trade union movement made notable headway. The Confederation of Latin American Workers (CLAW)

had its organisations in 18 countries, with a total membership of six million. Socialist parties operated in a number of countries. They had a strong left wing and often joined forces with Communist parties in supporting the unity of the trade union movement. All that contributed towards building up working-class influence in political life.

Working people stepped up their struggles under the influence of the victory of the USSR and other anti-fascist countries in the war against fascism. There was an upsurge of the strike movement in 1946-1949. It assumed particularly appreciable proportions in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Cuba, Venezuela and Peru. In a number of countries the strike struggle was supplemented by peasant risings. In consequence, working people obtained improvements in their material condition and wider social rights.

The class struggle went hand in hand with the anti-imperialist movement. There was an uprising against the dictatorial regime of Hernández Martínez in El Salvador in April 1944, followed soon afterwards by a general political strike which compelled the dictator to leave the country. A democratic regime was established in Guatemala as a result of the uprising on October 20, 1944, which existed until 1954. A bourgeois-democratic revolution triumphed in Ecuador in 1944. The military dictatorship in Venezuela was overthrown in 1955. In Peru, the National Democratic Front won presidential elections in June 1955. Democratic forces succeeded in strengthening their positions in Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Costa Rica and Chile.

Progressive forces compelled important social-economic and political reforms. Democratic freedoms, including universal suffrage, were introduced. Progressive organisations, trade unions and Communist parties began to operate legally. Foreign enterprises, railways, mines and other property were nationalised in some countries. An agrarian reform began to be carried out in Guatemala in 1952. A number of countries established or restored diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Venezuela, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mexico, Uruguay, Chile, Ecuador and others). All that conducted towards strengthening the national

sovereignty and promoting the progressive development of Latin American countries.

*US expansionism intensified. Reactionary backlash.* Latin American economies continued to develop at a quickening pace in the 1950s. Argentina, Brazil and Mexico were becoming industrial-agrarian countries. The industrial orientation of economic growth led to the growth of the urban population, above all, the working class, and a change of social structures. At the same time, deformed economic structures were still present in the countries of the continent. Latifundism, multistructural economies and domination by foreign, above all US monopolies, remained distinguishing features of the economic situation. The Latin American countries' dependence on the USA increased. Unending US interference in the internal affairs of the states of the continent made their domestic situation rather unstable.

With support and under pressure from the USA, reactionary forces went on the offensive in the context of the incipient Cold War in the countries of Latin America in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Backed up by US imperialism, reactionary elements staged coups and established their dictatorships in Peru (1948), Venezuela (1948), Paraguay (1949), Colombia (1949), Cuba (1952) and in some other countries. The US-aided and abetted invasion of Guatemala from Honduras and Nicaragua in June 1954 resulted in the installation of a reactionary dictatorial regime. Military-dictatorial regimes existed in 18 states of Latin America in 1954.

There was an anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign in the Cold War spirit everywhere. Communist parties were banned and their representatives driven out of parliaments in most countries (except Mexico, Uruguay and Ecuador). Tens of thousands of Communists were arrested and thrown into prisons and concentration camps. Progressive trade unions were banned. There were deepening divisions in the trade union movement. In 1951, the reformists created an Inter-American Regional Organisation of Workers of the ICFTU (ORIT), in 1952—a Trade Union Alliance of Latin American Countries (ATLAS), and in 1954—a Latin American Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (CLASC). Brazil,

Venezuela and Chile broke off their diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

The offensive of the forces of reaction and foreign imperialism brought with it intensified exploitation of working people and lower standards of living. The mass of the people in the countries of Latin America responded to the offensive of reaction with strike struggles, peasant risings and armed rebellions. Wide-scale strike action developed in Brazil, Argentina and Chile.

The growing war danger led to a peace movement surging in Latin America. Peace committees were established in a number of countries in 1949. They collected about 18 million signatures to the Stockholm Appeal for a Peace Pact. In September 1949, anti-war forces held a peace congress in Mexico, on the CLAW's initiative, which was attended by representatives of all the countries of the continent. It condemned the expansionist and aggressive course of the United States. Demonstrations of protest against foreign intervention in Korea took place in Latin America in 1950-1951.

In a number of countries the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement assumed considerable proportions and escalated into an armed struggle against the forces of reaction and foreign imperialism. A guerrilla war went on in Colombia, which led to liberated peasant regions being established. An armed struggle against the reactionary military government began in Bolivia in April 1952. It brought power into the hands of the nationalist elements of the bourgeoisie. An uprising broke out in Cuba on July 26, 1953. All those events indicated that the reactionary forces had not succeeded in suppressing the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

*The democratic movement on the upsurge in the 1960s.* There was further growth of industry, above all manufacturing sectors, in a number of Latin American republics in the 1950s and 1960s. The public sector was being consolidated and enlarged at the same time. State-monopoly capitalism was taking shape in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. However, agricultural development was slow—with an annual growth rate at 3.7 per cent. Latifundism, the related technical backwardness of farming and destitution of the peasant masses remained an impediment to its intensified growth.

The USA moved on to keep Latin America in a state of dependence. Its investment had come up to 24,000 million dollars in 1969. The foreign debt of the Latin American states was steadily mounting—from 3,100 million dollars in 1955 to 17,600 million in 1970.

The national bourgeoisie of Latin America, striving to oppose the sway of US capital, tried to unite its forces within the framework of Latin American integration. A Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) was created to this end in 1960. An association of La Plata Countries (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and, later on, Bolivia) was established in April 1969, and so was subsequently an Andean Group, comprising Colombia, Peru, Chile, Ecuador and Bolivia.

The role of the working class continued to grow in social and political life, and in the revolutionary movement. The trend towards the unity of the labour movement led to a Permanent Congress of Trade Union Unity of Latin American Workers being formed in 1964, comprising the major autonomous national trade union centres (as those of Brazil, Uruguay, Chile and Venezuela). The influence of the Communist parties began to rise again. In 1964, they had an aggregate membership of over 300,000, twice that of 1956. A broad anti-imperialist front was building up around the working class. At the same time, there were growing leftist and extremist trends among the middle classes.

In a number of countries, workers, peasants and urban middle classes as well as representatives of the national bourgeoisie were more and more often acting together against home-grown reaction and foreign imperialism. There were some positive shifts in the position of the Church, too. Many clergymen joined the democratic movement. Patriotically-minded officers were coming forward along with revolutionary forces, for instance, in the Dominican Republic (1965), Peru and Panama (1968), and Bolivia (1969 and 1970).

Numerous actions against the local oligarchy and imperialism, which took place in many countries of Latin America, attested to a further upsurge of the revolutionary movement. One indication of that upsurge was the on 200 million were involved in strikes in 1956-1969.

The mass peasant movement also became more active during that period. The armed peasant struggle continued in Colombia. Peasants were likewise the major protagonists of the guerrilla movement in Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru and Nicaragua. Peasant action was an important element of the democratic, anti-imperialist movement. Its immediate effect was to compel the enactment of agrarian reform laws in Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, Costa Rica and other countries.

The rising activity of large sections of the population up against the forces of reaction and foreign imperialism led to favourable conditions arising for them to band together in an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy front. Such fronts were consolidated or created anew in Peru, Brazil, El Salvador, Mexico and Ecuador. They comprised Communist parties, trade unions, peasant and student organisations, and democratic parties.

The dictatorial regimes were abolished as a result of mass action by working people in Peru, Haiti and Honduras (1956), Colombia (1957), and Venezuela (1958). A full-scale drive got under way in Panama against the USA and for the sovereignty over the Canal zone in the latter half of 1959. The victory of the people's revolution in Cuba (1959) was a major revolutionary development which exercised a tremendous revolutionary impact on the whole of Latin America. Democratic changes occurred in the political life of Chile, Argentina, Costa Rica and some other countries. There was a growing trend among Latin American states for an independent foreign policy. Brazil and Chile restored their diplomatic relations with socialist states in 1961 and 1964, respectively. Some countries spoke up in support of revolutionary Cuba and condemned the US aggression in Vietnam.

Yet far from always did the nationalist and patriotic forces manage to gain success. The anti-dictatorial uprisings were defeated in Paraguay (1959), Nicaragua (1960), and Guatemala (1960). In 1961 and 1962, the USA made most dangerous attempts at bringing down the revolutionary regime in Cuba. American troops fired on a mass demonstration in Panama in 1964. In 1965, the USA used its troops to suppress a democratic revolution in the Dominican Republic. US-backed reactionary militarists staged coups and established dictatorial



regimes in Brazil and Bolivia (1964), and in Argentina (1966).

*Intensified struggle in the 1970s.* In the early half of the 1970s, the economic development of Latin America went on at a relatively fast pace. But because of the world economic crisis, there was a decline of production in the Latin American continent, too, in the mid-1970s. On balance, further headway in the 1970s was made in advancing iron and steel and non-ferrous industries, some lines of engineering, electrical engineering and radio electronics, oil refining and petrochemistry. The food, textile, garment, leather and footwear, and woodworking industries were modernized. Increased importance was acquired by enterprises concerned with the production of cars, household electrical appliances, radio and television equipment, tractors and other agricultural machinery, artificial fertilizer and agricultural chemicals. Transport, communications, power engineering, gas and water supply systems were advancing. However, industrialisation depended on foreign capital. The foreign debt amounted to 78,000 million dollars in 1978. The USA still occupied a dominant place among the exporters of capital to Latin America. At the same time, the financial expansionism of Japan and Western Europe was growing consistently.

There were subsisting and deepening imbalances in the economic development of many countries, especially those connected with agricultural backwardness. The outdated system of landownership and land use held up the growth of agricultural production. Over 50 per cent of Latin America's rural population had no land of their own. Limited agrarian reforms went on in the 1970s.

The struggle for the economic independence of the countries of the region moved a stage ahead. There was the continued nationalisation of the property of foreign companies. Oil, gas, coal, uranium and iron ore production had passed into the hands of the state in many countries by the late 1970s. The public sector considerably expanded. State-owned oil companies were established in all petroleum-producing countries.

There were intensified processes of economic integration. A common regional organisation, known as the Latin American Economic System, was created in 1975. By

1979, it comprised 26 states, including Cuba. Public and private transport, power and other corporations continued to operate or to be formed (like the Latin American Energy Organisation, Latin American Association of Ship-Owners, and Caribbean Shipping Company).

But economic growth did little to improve the material condition of the main groups of working people. Mass poverty, illiteracy and the rightless status of a considerable proportion of the population subsisted in the countries of Latin America. All that made for a broadening of the social base of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement on the continent. The working class waged an ever more steadfast strike struggle and spoke up against wage freeze and cuts, for a higher standard of living, against layoffs, in defence of the right to organise, against repression, for freedom and democratic gains. Peasants and farm labourers, urban middle classes, intellectuals, students and professional people rose side by side with the working class. Some sections of the bourgeoisie (middle bourgeoisie), were still capable of playing their part in the anti-imperialist movement. At the same time, the big bourgeoisie in its majority openly went over to the camp of reaction.

The mass movement widened opportunities for the establishment of democratic governments. A revolutionary government of the armed forces came to power in Peru on October 3, 1968. On October 11, 1968, power in Panama passed into the hands of a progressively-minded National Guard. In September 1977, the USA and Panama signed two treaties providing for the sovereignty of the Panamanian state over the Canal zone to be re-established by 2000. Bolivia in 1969-1970 had a government in office which carried through a number of democratic reforms, but it was brought down by reactionary forces in January 1971. The armed forces which had come to power in Ecuador in February 1972 also committed themselves to the defence of national sovereignty and to the country's independent economic development. The victory of the Popular Unity Bloc in the presidential elections in Chile in 1970 and the formation of the Allende Government, which existed until September 1973, was a hard blow to

reaction. The popular revolutionary movement, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, overthrew the dictatorship of the Somoza family in Nicaragua in July 1979. It established the power of patriotic and democratic forces.

The process of wiping out the vestiges of colonialism in Latin America gained strength. Political independence was acquired by the Bahamas (1973), Grenada (1974), Surinam (1975), Dominique (1978), St. Lucia (1979), St. Vincent and Grenadines (1979). The authority and influence of socialist Cuba increased. Her economic and diplomatic blockade was broken.

However, reactionary forces moved to stem the surging revolutionary movement by toughening the methods of their domination of Latin America, encouraging fascist and terrorist elements and using the means of destabilising the situation in the countries with progressive regimes. A reactionary coup was staged in Uruguay in June 1973. A CIA-aided fascist coup was organised in Chile in September 1973. Subversive activities were intensified against the governments of Peru, Panama, Ecuador, Guyana, and Jamaica, and so were the activities of anti-Communist and terrorist elements. So the situation in Latin America was characterised by a greatly intensified struggle between the forces of progress and freedom and those of reaction.

Latin American Communists were on the front-line of the battle between the forces of progress and reaction. The membership of the Communist and workers' parties continued to grow. By 1974, it was around 600,000. Latin American Communist parties held zonal conferences and bilateral meetings at regular intervals.

The role of the countries of Latin America in international relations increased in the 1970s, and so did their determination to pursue independent foreign policies. There were more of regional links and greater solidarity of Latin American states in upholding economic as well as political independence. The contacts of the countries of Latin America with those of Asia and Africa, with developed capitalist states and other countries widened. Eighteen Latin American states had diplomatic relations with the USSR. Many of them supported the Soviet international peace initiatives. President Salvador

Allende of Chile, Presidents Luis Echeverría and José López Portillo of Mexico, President Rodríguez Carlos Andrés Pérez Rodríguez of Venezuela, to name just a few, made official visits to the USSR in the 1970s.

The influence of Latin American countries in the UN increased. Twenty-eight nations of the region were in it as of January 1, 1979. Many of them supported proposals for arms limitation and reduction, for the abolition of colonialism and for democratic international economic relations. Most countries approved the Treaty of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1970), pronounced themselves for the ending of all nuclear tests and supported the proposal for a complete prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons. These countries also gave their support to other peace initiatives of socialist and developing nations at the UN.

*Latin America in the 1980s.* During this decade, production expanded in Latin America's machine-building, chemistry, electrical engineering, and automotive industry. The positions of the public sector were strengthened in a number of countries, notably in mining and petroleum-producing industries and plantation business.

Antigua and Barbuda became independent in the 1980s, Belize in 1981, and St. Christopher and Nevis in 1983.

Direct foreign investment quadrupled in the 1970s and came up to around 80,000 million dollars by the mid-1980s. International capital captured dominant positions in some of the most dynamic industries, as automotive industry, machine-building and electrical engineering. Technological, crediting, marketing and other forms of control were further developed. Transnational corporations, or "modern conquistadors of neocolonialism", as they are called in Latin America, seized strongholds in the continent's economy. Their subsidiaries were turning out some 200,000 million dollars' worth of goods a year, or 40-45 per cent of the gross domestic product of the entire region.

The foreign debt of the Latin American countries soared from just about 5,000 million dollars in 1960 to over 380 billion in 1986, with upwards of 200 billion of the total being due from Brazil and Mexico. In recompense, Latin American countries had to pay out huge amounts, crippling for their economies. In the 1970s

alone, international monopolies siphoned off about 80 billion dollars from Latin America as profits and interest payments, which was roughly equivalent to the total foreign investment in the region. Annual foreign capital profits were estimated in 1985 at 25 billion dollars. Payments began to exceed new loans. All that attested to the serious financial and economic instability of Latin America's dependent capitalism, which was particularly manifest in the period of the world economic crisis of 1981-1982. Industrial production in many countries dropped by 20 per cent. Commerce and the credit system found themselves in a tight corner, and agriculture in the doldrums. In 1981-1984, economic growth in the region generally ground to a halt.

The political instability of the countries of the region increased as well, witness the intensified activity of the working-class and anti-imperialist movement. The situation in some countries of Central America was particularly strained. The people of Nicaragua were up to uphold their independence and the right to social progress; the revolutionary democratic forces in El Salvador stepped up their struggle against the reactionary military-civilian junta; the anti-dictatorial movement in Chile was gaining ground; and the process of decolonization in the Caribbean was just about over. The class struggles and the democratic movements in the major capitalist countries of the continent did not subside. That led to some positive changes in the political life of Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia and Uruguay, in particular.

In the 1980s, the struggle of the working class and its allies for democracy and social progress entered a new phase. Wage labour numbered 60 million in Latin America's active population of 113 million in the early 1980s. In most countries of the region, the proletariat continued to develop as the largest social category. It accounted for 51 million or 45.1 per cent of the active population, with 43.2 per cent of the working class employed in industry, 20 per cent in the agrarian sector, and 36.8 per cent in the distributive network and the services.

The condition of the working class and other sections of working people remained rather hard. Most of the population of the continent still had no access to the benefits of economic progress. The salient features were

poverty and lack of social welfare, never ending mass unemployment, a backward education system, health services and social security. Upwards of 50 per cent of the region's population did not have enough means to meet their basic needs. The number of totally or partly unemployed reached 47 million. All that laid the ground for growing class and anti-imperialist struggles.

The working class and its allies resorted to various forms of protest, from strikes to armed action. There were regular days of vocal mass protest against the fascist regimes in Chile and Uruguay. A nation-wide movement of disobedience to the junta regime got under way in Chile. The Bolivian Workers' Central played an important part in replacing the dictatorial regime by a democratic government. The working class and trade unions of Brazil, Peru and Colombia also organised mass action to press for economic and social reforms. Big strikes took place in Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Panama and Costa Rica, in the countries of Central America, and in Mexico. People out of work got involved in action for their interests. The poorest sections of the peasantry and middle classes of town and countryside were joining the struggle in growing numbers. The movement for peace, against the arms race, militarism and local conflicts gathered momentum. All that created conditions for positive changes on the continent. A democratic reform process began in Guatemala in 1986 after long years of dictatorship. In February 1989, Stroessner was overthrown in a military coup. The regime of the "life president" Jean Claude Duvalier crumbled in Haiti.

The role of the Communist movement of Latin America increased. There were Communist parties in 26 countries of the region (including Cuba), with a large membership. The influence of Communists had grown in Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Panama, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, El Salvador, Ecuador, Martinique and elsewhere.

There was, once more, a strained situation around Cuba in the early 1980s. The US instigated an undeclared war against Nicaragua and aided the reactionary regime of El Salvador in suppressing the armed liberation movement against the Salvadorean patriots. In 1982,

Britain went to war with Argentina over the Falkland Islands. In 1983, the US carried out an act of wanton aggression against Grenada, brought down a progressive regime there and installed one at its service. There was an expansion of US arms supplies to dictatorial regimes.

In this context, the unity of Latin American nations became more important than ever before. The Contadora Group, created in January 1983, comprising Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico and Panama, came to play a prominent part. This group held over a dozen meetings and conferences, drew up important political documents and conducted negotiations with all the countries involved in the conflict in Central America. These served to identify the ways of a peaceful solution of the crisis and assuring security in the region. On November 11, 1983, the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly passed a resolution on the situation in Central America, expressing support for the Contadora Group. At the same time, the US bent every effort to thwart the Group's proposal for a political settlement in Central America. In 1985, Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay formed the Lima Group (a "group of Latin American support for Contadora"). The Contadora Group drew up an Act for Peace and Co-operation in Central America.

Positive trends, which emerged in broad outline in the preceding decade, continued to develop in Soviet-Latin American relations. As of January 1, 1981, the USSR maintained diplomatic relations with 17 countries of the continent. Its relations with Nicaragua became active. Further headway was made in those with Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Uruguay and Guyana. The volume of trade and economic co-operation between the USSR and Latin America expanded. Other countries of the socialist community established diplomatic relations with most Latin American states. They all acted in solidarity with the struggle of the peoples and nations of Latin America for their economic and political independence.

## § 2. Development of Some Countries of Latin America

Argentina was an industrial-agrarian nation when the Second World War was over. Yet she was in the grip of foreign monopolies. Latifundistas and the commercial and financial oligarchy were prominent in her economy. The nationalist sections of the Argentinean bourgeoisie strove for power while the war was still on. A military coup, with Juan Domingo Perón (1896-1974) as a key figure, was carried out in June 1943. In 1946, Perón was elected President.

In the opening period of his presidency, Perón nationalised some foreign-controlled sectors of economy for appropriate compensation and launched the construction of new enterprises. British owners had railway lines, gas, insurance, telegraph and telephone companies bought off from them. The National Bank and a section of foreign trade passed under government control. A considerable public sector emerged as an important component of the nation's economy. Argentina's financial position improved; she turned from a debtor into a creditor. There were some improvements in the material condition of working people: higher wages and a substantial increase of employment opportunities.

In foreign affairs Perón strove for an independent course. In June 1946, he moved to establish diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union. Perón wished to restrict US economic and political expansionism. In July 1947, he made public a declaration on Economic Independence, setting the objective of creating a "sound economy free from foreign capitalism".

Perón plumped for a "class harmony" in the nation and for an end to big business, landocracy and foreign interference. Perónist propaganda played up the idea of creating a "just" ("justicialista") state.

The political superstructure of the Perónist regime took shape in 1947-1953. A new Constitution of Argentina, giving the President ("the leader of the nation") unlimited powers, was adopted in March 1949. The Constitution was based on the doctrine of "justicialism". The Argentineans received civil rights "within the limits of the law", including the right to work and to organi-



sation. In actual practice, Perón's "just" state turned up to be a form of compromise between the bourgeois landlord oligarchy, connected with foreign capital, and the national bourgeoisie. American and British monopolists in alliance with the Argentinean oligarchy retained the key positions in Argentina's economy.

An economic recession began in 1949. The government had to wind up the industrialisation programme and yielded ground to local and foreign capital. The aggravation of economic difficulties led to a sharpening of the class struggle. In 1952, the government introduced a state of siege. By the mid-1950s, the position of the Perónist regime became precarious. On September 16, 1955, army units organised an anti-government rebellion. Perón left the country.

Military rule was then established, Arturo Frondizi, Chairman of the Uncompromising Radical Civic Union party, was elected President on February 23, 1958. The new government carried through a series of progressive measures. However, it soon made substantial concessions and set about denationalising state-run enterprises. Frondizi's political course provoked strong opposition from the working class and all progressive forces. With the system of power in crisis, Argentinean reactionaries staged a military coup in co-operation with the US embassy on March 28, 1962. Arturo Illia, of the bourgeois centre-liberal People's Radical Civic Union party, was elected President in June 1963. Illia declared that he would stand up for the national economy. On November 15, 1963, he signed a Decree nationalising petroleum resources. The USA, however, finding the Illia Government's policy unsuitable, provoked some of the Argentinean armed forces into action against him in June 1966. The coup was led by General Juan Onganía who was declared President of the nation. A military dictatorship was thus established, which threw the doors wide open to foreign capital. The military junta did tremendous damage to Argentina's sovereignty, her national economy and the material condition of her population. The country once more entered a period of economic recession. In spite of reprisals, working people once again launched a battle which progressively undermined the positions of the military dictatorship.

Presidential and local elections in March-April 1973 brought victory to the justicialist Front of Liberation. Hector Cámpora, a prominent personality in the Perónist movement, became President, to be succeeded by Perón himself in September 1973. The Perón Government enacted progressive laws governing foreign investment in the interest of the public sector. A number of enterprises, above all those in the petroleum industry, were nationalised. The government drafted an agrarian reform and amended labour legislation in favour of working people.

When Perón died in 1975, the presidency went to his widow, María Martínez de Perón. She came under great pressure from the rightist forces, demanding concessions to local and foreign monopolies and the landed oligarchy. Armed forces once more intervened in Argentina's political life, taking power into their own hands on March 24, 1976. General Jorge Rafael Videla was declared President. He dissolved Parliament and suspended the activities of the political parties. In the economic field, the military government began to strengthen the private sector, widely attracting foreign capital. The monopoly of the state oil company (YPF) on oil prospecting and production was abolished.

Argentina's economic position drastically deteriorated in the early 1980s. Tension arose in political life, too, and there was no stability in the junta's top leadership. In March 1981, Videla was succeeded in the office of President by Robert Eduardo Viola; in December of the same year the post went to General Leopoldo Galtieri, and on July 1, 1982, to a retired General Reynaldo Bignone. A dramatic political crisis was in the offing.

It was evidenced, in particular, by the activity of the working-class and democratic movement. Trade unions were well to the fore, in defiance of all bans. The wave of the strike movement did not subside. The process of consolidation of anti-junta opposition went on. The junta finally wrecked its positions in the war with Britain over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). The defeat in that war touched off an outburst of anti-junta actions. The crisis of military rule reached its peak. General, including presidential, elections were called at the demand from

the opposition for October 30, 1983. They were won by Raúl Alfonsín of the Radical Civic Union who became the nation's President. He abrogated repressive legislation. A number of top-ranking military officials, including some of the junta, were arrested and put on trial. The Alfonsín Government moved to promote the domestic market and industry, and to consolidate the constitutional foundations of civilian rule.

With a civilian government in office, the nation's foreign policy underwent some positive change. Alfonsín favoured an independent foreign policy based on the principles of non-alignment and Latin American solidarity. Argentina denounced the American aggression against Grenada, deprecated foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of Central America, and supported the Contadora Group's course for a peaceful settlement in that region. Furthermore, Argentina spoke up against the militarisation of space. Alfonsín declared his intention to promote relations with all nations, including socialist.

*Mexico.* After the end of the Second World War, in which Mexico had been involved on the side of the anti-Hitler powers, she was in a state of continued economic upturn. The democratic movement became more active due to the impact the defeat of fascism had on Mexico. Progressive forces urged greater social and economic reforms. There was widespread opposition to US expansionism.

After the end of the war, the Party of Mexican Revolution was reorganised and renamed an Institutional Revolutionary Party (IRP), with Mexican Constitutional Socialism enunciated as its goal. Miguel Alemán of the IRP right wing was elected President of Mexico in June 1946. Alemán conducted a pro-US policy. Under him, the expansionism of American capital materially increased and the rights of big landowners broadened.

The 1950s and 1960s were a period of rapid economic growth of Mexico. Oil, mining, iron and steel and power production was growing by leaps and bounds. Agricultural performance was not bad either. Mexico was self-sufficient in meat, grain and other foodstuffs. Yet she remained dependent on foreign, above all US imperial-

ism. Her foreign debt amounted to 4,800 million dollars in the 1960s.

The political situation was rather tense, which transpired, notably in the course of the 1952 election campaign. The Institutional Revolutionary Party put forward Adolfo Ruiz Cortines as presidential candidate, who was elected. The Cortines Government had to reckon with the mounting democratic movement.

The government carried out certain positive measures, notably in tackling corruption. Women were given equal political rights with men. The foreign policy became more independent. Mexico refused to sign a military aid pact with the USA.

There was a recession in Mexico's economic development in the late 1950s, with the condition of the working people deteriorating and class struggles mounting. Working people intensified their battle against the high cost of living, demanded higher wages and collective bargaining agreements and upheld their trade union rights. The authorities were suppressing the action of working masses with reprisals and acts of violence. Many trade union activists, democratic leaders and Communists were arrested and jailed.

López Mateos of the Institutional Revolutionary Party was elected President in 1958. His government carried through a number of social and economic reforms and expanded the public sector. The electrical engineering industry, with 80 per cent of its assets belonging to US monopolies, was nationalised. The government bought off 53 per cent of the shares of a US steel company and completed the nationalisation of the film industry. The rights of foreign monopolies in the mining industry were restricted. In the face of the growing peasant movement for the land, the government went for a deeper agrarian reform. Under it, the peasants had 16 million hectares of land turned over to them.

In foreign affairs, Mateos followed an independent course. Mexico extended her trading, economic, political and cultural co-operation with socialist countries. In 1964, when all Latin American countries broke off their relations with Cuba under US pressure, Mexico kept up diplomatic relations with her.

Another IRP candidate, Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, a former Minister of the Interior, was elected President in July 1964. He carried on his predecessor's political line. He had some measures put through to strengthen the positions of national capital. In international affairs, Ordaz sought increased economic and political links with other countries of the continent. In 1964, Mexico contributed towards setting up a Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA). The Ordaz Government followed a tough policy in respect of the working-class and democratic movement.

Economic activity in Mexico in the early half of the 1970s was relatively high. But growth rates declined under the impact of the world economic crisis. The Institutional Revolutionary Party remained preponderant in political life. Parliamentary and presidential elections took place in the context of a dramatic struggle on July 5, 1970. Luis Echeverría, who had been the Minister of the Interior in the Ordaz Government, was elected President. Echeverría pursued an active policy of reform, carried out measures to upgrade the system of administration and extended government control over the economy and finances.

Further steps were taken to adjust social and economic relations. A Labour Code was adopted as early as April 1970, providing for increased guaranteed minimum wages, surplus seniority and overtime payments, longer paid vacations and an annual lump reward equivalent to a fortnight's earnings. A Social Security Act was approved in 1973. The government conducted a policy of gradually ousting foreign capital from the key sectors. The agrarian reform went on. A total of 373,600 peasants received 23 million hectares of land from 1965 to 1970.

The political activity of various social groups rose again in advance of a further presidential election in 1975. The election, held on July 4, 1976, was again won by an IRP candidate, José López Portillo. He took office against the backdrop of declining economic growth rates, mounting inflation and growing unemployment. Therefore, the government hastened to take social and economic measures, including some to make Mexican commodities more competitive in the world markets. The

process of nationalisation and Mexicanisation of enterprises continued.

The government went for a series of political moves. In December 1977, Parliament approved an Act on political organisations and an electoral reform, enlarging the democratic rights of the population. In October 1978, the Mexican Constitution was amended to include the right to "worthy and socially useful work". It was decided to provide more employment opportunities to ensure the enjoyment of this right.

In the 1970s, Mexico joined the process of international detente and extended her relations with the developing and socialist countries. Echeverría made an official visit to the USSR in 1973. The country's new President, José López Portillo visited the USSR in 1978. Mexico established diplomatic relations with most of the socialist countries and improved those with Cuba. Early in 1975, Mexico broke off diplomatic relations with the military-fascist junta in Chile and demonstrated solidarity with the Chilean patriots. In 1979, she recognised the democratic government of Nicaragua.

In the early 1980s, Mexico's economic situation worsened. She experienced a bad economic crisis in 1982-1983. The situation was extremely compounded by the earthquake of the autumn of 1985, which hit Mexico's capital most of all. The government economic programming measures proved little effective. In 1980, López Portillo endorsed the country's General Development Plan for 1980-1982, providing, in particular, for a considerable expansion of employment opportunities. A food programme was adopted at the same time for Mexico to become self-sufficient in staple foodstuffs. The authorities paid attention to the promotion of education, abolition of illiteracy, family planning, and improvement of health-care for the suburban residents.

The elections of July 1982 were won by an IRP candidate, Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado. The new President took office at the height of the economic crisis. Naturally, his government attached paramount importance to the problem of getting the nation out of its economic difficulties. In compliance with IMF recommendations, the government cut down social spending, capital investment in the public sector, raised taxes as well as prices of

petrol, electricity and services provided by state-run enterprises. All that impaired the condition of the worse-off sections of the population. In consequence, the strike struggle picked up again.

Positive trends were gaining ground in foreign affairs. Mexico abided by the principle of independence and non-intervention and gave great attention to promoting relations with Cuba and Nicaragua. She helped the latter in her economic recovery. The government of López Portillo severed relations with the reactionary regime of El Salvador. Further headway was made in Mexico's relations with socialist countries. There was a considerably increased exchange of delegations between Mexico and the USSR. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze made the first-ever visit to Mexico in bilateral Soviet-Mexican relations in October 1986.

*Brazil.* The war, having disrupted Brazil's economic ties with Europe, gave an impetus to the development of her national industry. The positions of the Brazilian bourgeoisie were strengthened. The industrial proletariat had grown, too. Yet, at the same time, there was intensified penetration of US capital in Brazil.

The end of the war and the victory of the peace forces over fascism made for an upsurge of the working-class and democratic movement. Working people demanded democratic freedoms and social rights. The government of President Vargas had to reckon with the growing democratic mood of the masses. In April 1945, Brazil established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. An amnesty of political prisoners was announced on April 18, 1945. The Decree on a general universal suffrage by direct and secret ballot, issued in May 1945, was an important achievement of democratic forces. Voting rights were granted to males and females over 18. The activity of political parties was allowed on May 28, 1945. Brazil's return to parliamentary democracy was an unquestionable achievement of working people and all progressive forces.

Parliamentary and presidential elections took place in the context of a dramatic political tussle and direct US intervention on December 2, 1945. Enrico Dutra, a placeman of big merchants and bankers, was elected

President. The Constituent Assembly approved a new Constitution in September 1946. In the face of a mounting democratic movement, the Constituent Assembly included important democratic provisions in it: universal suffrage, the right of workers to form trade unions and to strike. The Constitution provided for a minimum wage rate to be fixed, an 8-hour working day and annual holidays to be introduced, and the employment of children under 14 to be banned. The state was vested with the right to nationalise natural resources, expropriate major property and establish control over foreign companies. The national bourgeoisie was to be given preferential treatment in front of foreign capital in the exploitation of the country's natural resources. At the same time, the Constitution formalised the rule of the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy.

The Dutra government was composed of representatives of the latifundistas and the financial oligarchy connected with the US monopolies. Dutra opened the doors to quick penetration of US capital. The government intensified repression of the working-class and democratic movement. A Decree outlawing the Communist Party was signed in May 1947. It was at that time, too, that a ban was imposed on the activities of the Confederation of the Working People of Brazil. In May 1949, the government banned the Peace Partisans Movement.

In international affairs, Dutra followed a pro-US course. A Joint Defence of the Western Hemisphere Pact was signed between Brazil and the USA in September 1947. A month later, Dutra broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

Dutra's rule incurred the growing resentment of great mass of the people and national forces. Getúlio Vargas, Chairman of the Brazilian Labour Party (Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro), was elected President in 1950. In his domestic and foreign policies, Vargas had to steer his course between the national forces and those of dual and contradictory. On October 3, 1953, the President signed an Act setting up a mixed joint stock company, Petrobras, with 51 per cent of the shares belonging to



the state and 49 per cent to Brazilian private companies and individual employers. Foreign capital was barred from the petroleum industry. Oil prospecting, production, refining and trade were declared a government monopoly. That was a great victory for the progressive forces. National forces were likewise in battle for the nationalisation of the power industry.

In his foreign policy, Vargas aimed to promote a closer relationship with the USA. He signed a military aid agreement with it in 1952. Brazil also supported the US aggression against Guatemala in 1954. National forces were putting up an ever greater resistance to Brazil's foreign policy. That put Vargas into a state of political isolation. Faced by a threatened conspiracy, Vargas shot himself in August 1954.

Presidential elections were held in Brazil in October 1955. Nationalist forces rallied behind their candidate, Juscelino Kubitschek, leader of the Social Democratic Party, who was elected President. The government drew up a five-year economic development plan with great emphasis on the expansion of the public sector. There was notable industrial expansion growth in Brazil in the latter half of the 1960s. The transfer of the capital from Rio de Janeiro to the city of Brasília, built expressly for the purpose in the nation's heartland, on April 21, 1960, was a historic event. The authorities saw it as a factor that was to contribute towards the economic development of Brazil's hinterland regions.

A candidate of the National Democratic Union, Jânio Quadros, Governor of the State of São Paulo, was elected President of Brazil in October 1960. But reactionary generals forced Quadros to step down on August 25, 1961, being succeeded by the Vice-President, João Goulart. During his presidency (1961-1964), Goulart followed a policy of strengthening national sovereignty and carried through a number of progressive reforms. He restored diplomatic relations with the USSR in November 1961. At the OAS Conference in 1962, Brazil supported Cuba despite US pressure.

In January 1962, Goulart signed a Decree launching an agrarian reform in the State of Rio Grande do Sul. A state electric power company, Eletrobras, was established in June of the same year. It was likewise decided to carry out reforms in the area of finance and education.

In December 1963, the President signed a Decree on state monopoly of oil imports. The export of profit by foreign companies was limited to ten per cent in January 1964. Subsequently, Goulart signed Decrees to nationalise landed estates of over 500 ha lying along railways, among others.

Goulart's democratic course met with fierce resistance. Reactionary militarists staged an anti-government rebellion on March 31, 1964. In those circumstances, Goulart betrayed indecision and left the country on April 2. Marshal Castelo Branco was elected President on April 11. In 1967, he was replaced by Marshal Costa e Silva. In 1969, presidential powers passed over to General Garrastazú Médici.

A reactionary offensive against the gains of democratic forces began in Brazil. Communists, trade union leaders and democrats were arrested. Many political leaders, including three preceding presidents, were divested of their political rights. Political strikes were banned and parties disbanded. Under the Institutional Act of October 27, 1965, the President obtained special powers, allowing him, in particular, to introduce a state of siege and to dissolve the Congress. The election of a President by voters was replaced by his election by the National Congress. Two political parties were created with the government's permission in 1966: the National Alliance of Renovation (ARENA) and the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB). A new Constitution officially establishing an authoritarian regime was adopted in 1967.

Brazil reverted to a pro-US course in foreign affairs. In 1964, she broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba and then sent Brazilian military units to the Dominican Republic. Brazil refused to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. US capital was once more attracted. The Act restricting profit remittance abroad was repealed. There came a capital inflow not only from the USA, but also from the FRG, Japan, France and Britain. That provided the ground for an economic upturn which began in Brazil in the late 1960s and continued until 1974. The 1970s saw a mounting resistance of Brazil's democratic forces to the reactionary and anti-national policy of the ruling circles. The op-

position called for abrogating repressive laws, restricting the activities of foreign monopolies and raising the people's standard of living. Trade unions became more active, and so did the strike movement. There was the growing unity of democratic forces. A National Front for the Restoration of Democracy was established in June 1978.

The growing crisis of the regime forced the dictatorship to change tack. A draft constitutional reform was approved in September 1978. A retired General João Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo, a candidate of the ruling ARENA party (National Alliance of Renovation) was elected President of Brazil in October 1978. Positive changes began. In April 1979, the President signed a decree raising the minimum wage by 44-45 per cent. An amnesty of political prisoners and emigrants was enacted in September 1979. Communist Party leaders returned home soon after that. There was a realignment of political and social forces.

Brazil had made notable headway in the sense of economic development by the early 1980s. However, the Brazilian "economic miracle" got stuck in the early 1980s. The government tried to get out of the economic crisis by toughening its credit and monetary policies, reducing government spending, further restricting imports and stimulating exports as well as with the help of new big loans.

The process of "liberalisation" of the regime, which began in 1979, continued in political life. The leader of the Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB), Tancredo Neves, was elected President in 1984, but he died soon, never taking office. The Vice-President, José Sarney, the leader of the Liberal Front Party, became the nation's President in 1985. Reforms for restoring the democratic regime began to be carried out. Direct presidential elections were introduced early in May 1985, and voting rights were granted to the unlettered (some 20 million people). Another reform permitted the free constitution of political parties, which opened the way to the legalisation of the Communist Party. In an effort to resolve social and economic problems, the Sarney Government created 1.5 million new jobs within a short space of time. Elections of the Constituent As-

sembly were held in Brazil in November 1986. It worked out the Constitution of the "New Republic". There were presidential elections in Brazil in December 1989. The new President was Collor de Mello.

In foreign affairs, Brazil was giving more attention to promoting her relations with Latin American, African and Asian countries. The government of Brazil denounced the US intervention in Grenada. Contacts with the USSR and other socialist countries were built up.

*Chile.* The economic upturn, which came about in Chile in wartime, led to a strengthening of the positions of the national bourgeoisie and the numerical growth of the working class. However, the country was still effectively dominated by foreign capital.

Many copper mines belonged to foreign, above all US corporations. The system of latifundias prevailed in farming.

The world-wide revolutionary upsurge and internal causes made for an intensification of the working-class and democratic movement. This was demonstrated, notably, in the course of the 1946 presidential election campaign. Progressive forces, comprising the Communist, Radical, Socialist and Democratic Parties, united within the Democratic Alliance, put forward the Radical leader, González Videla as their presidential candidate. Most of the electorate voted for Videla in the elections of September 14, 1946. The new President formed a coalition government of the Democratic Alliance. It included three Communist Party members. The new government set about implementing a forward-looking domestic and foreign policy.

The government nationalised two railways which had been owned by British companies, expropriated several landed estates and tackled speculation. Relations with the USSR began to be developed. All that responded to the interests of the country's economic independence and led to the consolidation of national sovereignty.

The Cold War which was then started was used by home-grown and international reactionary elements for fighting against the progressive forces, above all, against the Communist Party of Chile. Under pressure from those elements, Videla forced the Communist Ministers to

A number of provinces had a state of siege imposed on them. Troops occupied mines and used violence against workers. Many miners were confined to concentration camps or deported to remote districts. However, the struggle of the democratic forces against the government continued.

The elections in September 1952, brought victory to General Carlos Ibañez Del Campo, representative of the bourgeois-landlord establishment. The emphasis under him was on attracting foreign capital. US companies were offered easy terms for exploiting national resources. In consequence, Chile's financial position grew from bad to worse.

The discontent of national forces with the Ibañez Government's policy increased. Working people demanded higher wages, protested against the high cost of living and pressed for an end to foreign domination of the economy. In February 1956, the left forces created a Revolutionary Front of Popular Unity, which went on record for a forward-looking domestic and foreign policy. However, it was yet another placeman of the right-wing forces, Jorge Alessandri, one of the big Chilean capitalists, who won the 1958 presidential election. The Alessandri Government (1958-1964) reduced taxes on US mining companies. Its anti-national economic policy had the effect of curtailing production, stimulating higher inflation and greater unemployment, and worsening the material condition of working people.

The popular struggle went on escalating in Chile in the early 1960s, with mass strikes called and the peasant movement growing more active. In November 1962, the government had to promulgate an Agrarian Reform Act. Other concessions were made to working people:

The leader of the Christian Democratic Party, Eduardo Frei, was elected President of the nation on September 4, 1964. By progressively buying off the copper mines which belonged to US monopolies, the government agreed to the establishment of mixed Chilean-US companies, which did not lessen their dependence on the USA. At the same time, the government facilitated the concentration and centralisation of production, reinforcing the positions of local monopoly capital. An Agrarian Reform Act was passed in Chile in July 1967, under which 1,310 big latifundia with a total area of 3.4 million ha had been expropriated by the middle of 1970. But only 29,000 peasant households received land. The Frei Government also put through some piecemeal social reforms and augmented expenditure for education, health services, and housing construction.

In international affairs the Frei Government came up with a number of positive initiatives. It resumed diplomatic and trading relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, deplored the arms race and seconded the idea of making Latin America a nuclear-free zone.

On balance, however, the Christian Democratic Party government achieved no economic stabilisation. Chile's balance of foreign trade deficit increased, the value of the national currency, the escudo, fell, inflation picked up and the cost of living soared. Left forces and those up and the cost of living soared. Left forces and those up and the cost of living soared. Left forces and those up and the cost of living soared.

Allende, as a representative of Popular Unity, received a relative majority vote in the presidential elections on September 4, 1970. A Popular Unity government was formed in Chile in November 1970. While noting the tremendous importance of that victory of the forces of

the people, one should point out that the Congress, the Supreme Court, the media and a considerable proportion of the officers did not support Popular Unity. That created a rather involved setting for the new government to implement its programme in.

Nevertheless, the Allende Government got down to real business in carrying out important social and economic reforms. Copper mines and copper-ore enterprises belonging to US monopolies were nationalised. A similar decision was taken with regard to enterprises concerned with coal, iron ore, and oil production. Leading private banks and major monopolies in the manufacturing industry were also nationalised. The public sector was considerably expanded.

Important measures were carried through in the social sphere: wages went up, prices of the major consumer items were stabilised, steps were taken to provide employment opportunities for the people out of work, large-scale housing construction was started, and the system of health care and education improved. The agrarian reform was carried a stage ahead. The government expropriated 3,200 big private latifundia, having a total of about 6 million ha of land. More co-operatives were established.

However, the government did not succeed in winning over a substantial proportion of the middle classes and the petty bourgeoisie. It could not do so partly because of the obstruction created by leftist elements who attacked small-scale private property, hastened to introduce the dictatorship of working people, and tried to create parallel armed forces.

A progressive course was followed in foreign affairs. Diplomatic relations were restored with Cuba in November 1970 and established with the GDR in 1971. Relations with the DRV and the KDPR were normalised in June 1972. Soviet-Chilean friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance made headway. Relations were improved with a number of Latin American countries. Traditional links were maintained with France, Italy and the FRG. Relations with the USA, however, drastically worsened.

Chilean reactionaries and US monopolies greeted the Allende Government's take-over and activities with

fury and went into action at once to subvert it. An economic and financial blockade was set up. Foreign-instigated subversive elements organised moves towards destabilising the popular regime. They succeeded in drawing some of the middle classes and petty-bourgeois elements into anti-government action. The army was being secretly prepared for a counter-revolution.

On September 11, 1973, army units, with a reactionary military leader, Pinochet, in command, moved to the presidential palace. The military killed President Allende and established a military-fascist dictatorship in Chile. All democratic rights and freedoms were eliminated and a regime of wanton violence and mass repression installed. The Communist Party and other democratic organisations were crushed and driven underground; thousands of Communists and democrats were physically removed, over 100,000 arrested, more than 40,000 shot or tortured to death; upwards of a million left the country. All of the Popular Unity government's social and economic reforms were reversed.

The junta's policy had a sobering effect on those sections of the petty and medium bourgeoisie which contributed towards overthrowing the Popular Unity government. There began a gradual realignment of political forces, and the battlefront against the military-fascist dictatorship widened. Many adherents to the CDP and other bourgeois parties as well as some of the clergy came out against the junta. Some army units were in a ferment as well. Strikes, anti-fascist demonstrations and meetings began to be held again in spite of the bans.

The junta's foreign policy was one of seeking a closer relationship with the USA and also with the reactionary dictatorial regimes of South America.

Chile's economic development in the early half of the 1980s suffered from the harmful effect both of the junta's social and economic policy and of the world economic crisis. The nation's exploitation by foreign capital was intensified. There was no let-up in acts of violence and arrests for political motives. Along with that, the junta staged a pseudoreferendum in September 1980 on the so-called new Constitution to "legitimise" its tenure of office. In spite of terror and repression, 30 per cent of the turn-out voted against it. The new Constitution came



into effect on March 11, 1981. Under it, Pinochet's presidential powers were extended until 1989. In this way, the junta generally formalised the institution of an authoritarian regime in Chile.

But the struggle against the military-fascist regime went on in growing proportions. There were National Protest Days since 1983, involving millions of working people. Barricades were occasionally erected. The protesters demanded the resignation of the fascist junta, the ending of repression and terror, the release of political prisoners, restoration of democracy and improvement of working people's living conditions. In 1983, opposition forces joined to form two coalitions: the right-of-centre Democratic Alliance put forward a democratic platform and started a dialogue with the junta on a liberalisation of the regime; the Popular Democratic Movement (Communists, Socialists and Independent Left) demanded the immediate overthrow of the dictatorship and the implementation of deep-going democratic reforms. A Patriotic Front of Manuel Rodríguez, grouping Communists, Socialists and representatives of other anti-junta parties, sprang up on November 14, 1983, and launched an armed struggle against the military-fascist regime.

There was a continuing process of international isolation of the military-fascist regime. The UN General Assembly and the United Nations Commission on the Rights of Man denounced the Chilean regime more than once.

There was a certain liberalisation of the regime in Chile in the late 1980s. The presidential elections in December 1989 were won by the opposition candidate, Patricio Aylwin.

*Nicaragua.* A military-landlord dictatorship of the Somoza family was established in Nicaragua in a coup in 1936. After the world war, the Nicaraguan dictator intensified repression of progressive forces. Nicaragua was becoming a pliant tool in the hands of the USA in countries. In 1948, Nicaraguan troops were involved in fighting against the democratic forces in Costa Rica and in 1954, they suppressed the revolution in Guatemala. Ruthless repression inside the country and a counter-

revolutionary foreign policy aroused growing opposition to the dictatorship. Anastasio Somoza was killed on September 21, 1956. His son, Luis Somoza Debayle, put himself at the head of the dictatorship.

Under the influence of the victorious Cuban Revolution, the struggle of the Nicaraguan patriots against the dictatorship went a stage ahead. Organisations of a United Front of Nicaragua appeared in Venezuela, Argentina and Mexico early in 1959. The United Front published its short-term programme on February 20, 1960. It called for overthrowing the dictatorial regime, creating a provisional government of representatives of all the forces in battle against the tyranny, and carrying through an agrarian reform. In 1961, the first steps were taken towards the formation of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Once established, it started systematic mass work of organisation and political education. One of the Front's founders and leaders, Carlos Fonseca regarded it as a military-political instrument of revolutionaries.

There was a change of President in 1967. This post was taken over by the late dictator's second son—Anastasio Somoza Debayle. Neither the trickery, nor the reprisals could stop mounting anti-dictatorial action. In the 1970s, the anti-dictatorial struggle made further headway. The makings of a revolutionary situation were increasingly apparent. There were growing demands throughout the country for Somoza's resignation. Armed risings took place in some districts. On August 22, 1978, the Sandinistas captured the building of the National Palace in the capital and the members of the Congress that were sitting there. At their demand, the dictator had to release a number of political prisoners and to let all radio stations broadcast the text of the message from the leadership of the Sandinista Front to the Nicaraguan people. Then there was a national political strike which escalated into a general armed uprising in September. Civil defence committees and people's militia units appeared in many places. The insurgents established their own control over a number of cities. The dictator threw specially trained punitive units, aircraft and tanks into action against the revolutionary forces. The September Uprising was the herald of the people's coming victory.

In May 1979, the political situation in the country became very tense. FSLN called for a general revolutionary strike which took place on June 4. On June 9, there was an uprising in Managua. The FSLN armed detachments were in control of most of the country. A Government of National Reconstruction, comprising representatives of various opposition forces, was declared established on June 17. The government published a programme of national economic recovery and far-reaching social and economic reforms.

The national guard was disbanded. Somoza fled the country on July 17, 1979. The dictatorial regime was overthrown. The advent of patriotic and democratic forces to power signified the victory of the popular, democratic Sandinista Revolution.

The old state machinery began to be dismantled and revolutionary authorities organised, which was legally formalised in the Basic Statute of July 20, 1979. Another document, the Statute on Rights and Guarantees for the Citizens of Nicaragua assured full respect for human rights in Nicaragua. Legislative and executive power was in the hands of the Provisional Government Council of National Reconstruction. Daniel Ortega Saavedra became the coordinator of this Council. The 51-member State Council, created on May 4, 1980, was a consultative and legislative body. It included representatives of nearly all political and social organisations, armed forces and the clergy. Its function was to endorse the laws and other Acts prepared by the Government Council. An 11-member Council of Government was formed on March 4, 1981. The system of local government was also reorganised. All these institutions served to draw the great mass of the people into the process of running the state. A democratic judiciary emerged. A people's army, a people's security force and people's militia were organised. A Patriotic Front of the Revolution, comprising the FSLN, the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, the Independent Liberal Party and the Popular Social Christian Party, was created in July 1980. The bourgeoisie was removed from power. A people's democratic type of state was established.

People's democratic authorities set about rebuilding the national economy and carrying through revolutionary

social reforms. The property of the Somoza family and his associates was totally confiscated under the Decree of July 20, 1979. That was followed by the nationalisation of the banks, insurance companies, foreign trade and a number of major enterprises. Natural resources were brought under state control. Nationalisation covered agricultural enterprises, the land and forest ranges. That is to say, there was established national or common public property which became the backbone of the national economy. In subsequent years, the process of nationalisation of capitalist property continued.

Economic planning was introduced. An agrarian reform was an important social and economic undertaking. Nearly 20 per cent of the cultivated land passed into the hands of the state and the people after the confiscation of the Somoza family's property. Some of it was handed over to the peasants. The ground rent was limited. An Agrarian Reform Law was made public on July 19, 1981. Upwards of two million ha of land passed into peasant hands during the first seven years of the Revolution. Over 100,000 peasant households had received land plots by 1987. Hundreds of co-operatives and state farms were organised.

Important measures were carried out in the social field. The system of health care was being improved and housing construction intensified. Steps were taken to wipe out illiteracy: it was practically ended by the mid-1980s. The government raised pay rates, provided wider employment opportunities, reformed labour legislation, and improved social insurance and the old-age pensions scheme. In consequence, the living standard of the working people and the worst-off sections of the population rose.

Many employers resorted to economic sabotage. Anti-people forces, assisted by foreign, above all US reactionaries, launched subversive counter-revolutionary action with a view to overthrowing the Sandinista government.

Counter-revolutionary bands, organised on the territory of Honduras, crossed the border to kill popular government officials and other civilians, destroy property and crops, loot and burn up peasant homes. Groups of terrorists and counter-revolutionaries were organised in some regions of Nicaragua.

The working masses reacted to the activities of the internal and external counter-revolution by closing their ranks. By Decree of March 15, 1982, the Government Council introduced a state of emergency. Anti-Somoza people's tribunals were set up in April 1983. A General Conscription Act was passed in September. In 1983, the security forces foiled a plot to remove the leaders of the Nicaraguan Revolution.

The first genuinely free general elections, which were held in a dramatic international setting on November 4, 1984, were won by the Sandinista Front. Daniel Ortega was elected President. The new Constitution of the Republic was adopted in 1986, following an extensive and circumstantial discussion. It included such fundamental principles as national sovereignty and independence, political pluralism, mixed economy, anti-imperialism, non-alignment and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other nations. The basic law proclaimed the people's direct involvement in the process of creating a new type of society as well as the right to elect and to be elected, the right to work, housing, free education and health care, and the autonomy of ethnic minorities.

In respect of foreign affairs, the Republic of Nicaragua declared itself committed to a policy of independence and non-alignment, and one of establishing links with all nations. Friendly relations developed between Nicaragua and Cuba. Cubans arrived in Nicaragua to share in the construction of industrial and other projects and in ending illiteracy.

The government of Nicaragua more than once declared its intention to maintain normal relations with the USA. Yet the American Administration struck up an outspokenly hostile posture. The USA cut off all economic aid to the Republic. It was building up its military presence in Central America and the Caribbean, declaring that region an area of its "vital interests". The USA sent arms and military equipment to Honduras for anti-Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary bands. Steps were taken towards organising direct intervention in Nicaragua by American armed forces.

In 1986, President Reagan signed an Act to finance the mercenary counter-revolutionary bands operating

against Nicaragua and supply them with all kinds of armaments. There was a notorious US arms sale to Iran with the proceeds going to the Nicaraguan contras (the Irangate scandal).

In 1990, the opposition prevailed in the elections, and Violetta Chamorro became President, who declared an end of the Civil War and the disarmament of the contras her primary political goal.\*

\* The work on the book was ended by the author and editors on 30 June 1990.

## Chronology

1945

- May 9—Day of Victory over fascist Germany.
- September 2—The Act of Unconditional Surrender of Japan signed. World War II is over.
- September-October—The First World Trade Union Congress meets. The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) established.
- November 10—The World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) established.
- November 29—The monarchy abolished in Yugoslavia and the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia proclaimed.
- December 1—The Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) established.

1946

- January 10—The First Session of the UN General Assembly opens.
- January 11—Albania proclaimed a people's republic.
- February 1—Hungary proclaimed a people's republic.
- March 18—Diplomatic relations between the USSR and Switzerland restored.
- April 21-22—The Constituent Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany meets.
- June 18—Italy proclaimed a republic.
- July 29-October 15—The Paris Peace Conference meets.
- September 15—Bulgaria proclaimed a people's republic.
- 1946-1954—The war of French colonisers against the peoples of Indochina.
- 1946-1949—The civil war in Greece.

1947

- February 10—Peace treaties with Italy, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland signed in Paris.
- March 12—The USA proclaims the Truman Doctrine.

362

- June 5—The USA proclaims the Marshall Plan.
- July—The Netherlands starts a colonial war against Indonesia.
- August 15—The independence of India proclaimed, with the country divided into two dominions: India and Pakistan.
- September 2—The Inter-American Treaty on the Defence of Western Hemisphere signed in Rio de Janeiro.
- Late September—The Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties established.
- November—The Committee of International Socialist Conferences (COMISCO) created.
- December 30—The monarchy in Romania abolished. Romania proclaimed a people's republic.

1948

- February 20-25—A counter-revolutionary plot foiled in Czechoslovakia.
- February 21-27—The Unity Congress of the CPR and the SDPR. The Romanian Workers' Party (RWP) created.
- March 17—The Western European Union (Britain, France, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg) created.
- April 6—The Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and Finland signed.
- April—The Organisation of American States (OAS) established.
- April—A popular uprising breaks out in Colombia. A guerrilla movement begins.
- June 12-14—The Unity Congress of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties of Hungary meets. The Hungarian Workers' Party (HWP) created.
- June 27—The Communist and Social Democratic parties of Czechoslovakia unite to form the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.
- July 30-August 18—The Danube Conference meets in Belgrade. The Danube Freedom of Navigation Convention signed.
- August 11—A United Revolutionary Party of the Bulgarian Working Class, BWP (C), founded.
- September 9—The Democratic People's Republic of Korea proclaimed.
- November 8-22—The First Congress of the Communist Party of Albania meets. The Party is renamed the Party of Labour of Albania.
- December 16-21—The Unity Congress of the PWP and the PSP. The Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) established.

1949

- January 5-8—The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) created.
- January 5-8—The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) created.
- April 4—The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) created.
- April 18—Ireland leaves the British Commonwealth and is proclaimed a republic.
- April 20-25—The First World Peace Congress meets in Paris and Prague.
- September 20—The Federal Republic of Germany formed.
- October 1—The People's Republic of China proclaimed.

363



October 7—The German Democratic Republic formed.

## 1950

February 14—The Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the People's Republic of China (PRC) concluded.

June 1950-July 1953—The liberation war of the Korean people.

## 1951

February 21-26—The First Session of the World Peace Council meets. It adopts an Appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact.

June—The Socialist International established.

September 1—The ANZUS bloc (Australia, New Zealand, USA) created.

September 8—A separate peace treaty with Japan signed. The US-Japanese Security Treaty concluded.

## 1952

April—An anti-imperialist revolution triumphs in Bolivia.

May 26—The Bonn General Contract signed.

November 2-7—The 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia renames the Party the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

## 1953

July 26—The Moncada barracks in Santiago de Cuba stormed by a revolutionary youth group led by Fidel Castro.

## 1954

June 18—US intervention in Guatemala.

July 21—The Geneva Agreement on Cease-Fire in Indochina signed.

September 8—SEATO formed.

November 1—The Algerian people start an armed struggle for liberation.

## 1955

April 18-24—The Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations adopts five principles of peaceful coexistence.

May 14—The Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Albania, the GDR and Bulgaria signed in Warsaw (Warsaw Treaty).

May 15—The Austrian State Treaty signed by representatives of the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and France in Vienna.

## 1956

April—The Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties closed down.

October-December—Egypt falls victim to Anglo-French-Israeli aggression.

November 4—A Provisional Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government under János Kádár set up in Hungary.

December 2—The Cuban people start an armed struggle against the Batista dictatorship under the leadership of Fidel Castro.

## 1957

March 25—The treaty establishing the European Economic Community (Common Market) signed in Rome.

June—The HWP reorganised as the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP).

October 4—The USSR launches the world's first artificial Earth satellite, ushering in mankind's space age.

November 14-16—An International Conference of 12 Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries meets in Moscow.

November 16-19—An International Conference of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties meets in Moscow.

## 1958

September 28—The Constitution of the Fifth Republic adopted in France.

## 1959

January 1—A popular revolution triumphs in Cuba.

## 1960

July 11—The Constitution of Czechoslovakia adopted. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CzSSR) proclaimed.

November—An International Conference of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties meets in Moscow.

1961

April 12—Yuri Gagarin of the USSR is the first man in space.

1962

October-November—The Caribbean crisis.

1963

April—The Constitution of Yugoslavia adopted. The FPRY renamed the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

August 5—The Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and Under Water signed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, the USA and Britain in Moscow.

November 22—US President John F. Kennedy assassinated.

1964

March 31-April 1—President João Goulart of Brazil overthrown in a coup d'état.

1965

April 28—The USA starts an armed invasion of the Dominican Republic.

July 19-24—The 9th Congress of the RWP renames the Party the Romanian Communist Party.

August 21—The Constitution of Romania adopted. Romania proclaimed a socialist republic.

October—The PURS renamed the Communist Party of Cuba.

1966

March—The French government announces withdrawal from the military wing of NATO.

June 14-16—A pact setting up the Asian Pacific Council (ASPAC) concluded.

1967

April 21—A military-fascist coup staged in Greece.

April 24-26—A Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties meets at Karlovy Vary to consider European security issues.

June 5—Israel attacks Egypt, Syria and Jordan.

366

1968

April 4—Martin Luther King assassinated.

May-June—Students and workers rise en masse in France.

October—A political crisis breaks out in Northern Ireland.

1969

June 5-17—An International Conference of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties meets in Moscow.

July 16-24—American spacemen (Neil Armstrong, Michael Collins and Edwin Aldrin) land on the Moon.

1970

March 5—The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons comes into force.

August 12—A Treaty between the USSR and the FRG signed (ratified in May 1972).

November 3—The Popular Unity government headed by Salvador Allende takes office.

December 7—A treaty between the PPR and the FRG signed (ratified in May 1972).

1971

June 25-27—The 25th Session of the CMEA adopts a Comprehensive Programme of Socialist Economic Integration of the CMEA countries.

September 3—The Quadripartite Agreement on the Status of West Berlin signed between the USSR, France, the USA and Great Britain.

1972

May 22-30—US President Richard Nixon makes a visit to the USSR. Basic Principles of Mutual Relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America signed.

September 29-October 2—The Constituent Conference of the Socialist Party of Australia meets.

November 22-June 8, 1973—33 European nations, and also the USA and Canada hold consultations in Helsinki in preparation for a European Conference.

December 21—A treaty establishing the basis of relations between the GDR and the FRG signed.

367

1973

- January 27—The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam signed in Paris.  
 February 26-March 2—The International Conference on Vietnam.  
 June—Agreements between the USSR and the USA on the Prevention of Nuclear War signed.  
 September 11—A fascist coup in Chile.  
 October 30—Talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe begin in Vienna.

1974

- April 25—An anti-fascist, democratic revolution triumphs in Portugal.  
 July 23—The military-fascist regime brought down in Greece.

1975

- June 10-13—A Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Countries of Latin America and the Caribbean meets.  
 July 30-August 1—The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe ends in Helsinki. The Final Act adopted.

1976

- June 29-30—A conference of 29 Communist and workers' parties of Europe takes place.  
 December 28—The new Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania approved.

1977

- September 7—Two Panama Canal treaties between the USA and Panama signed.  
 October 4, 1977-March 9, 1978—Representatives of the 35 participating nations of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe meet in Belgrade.

1978

- September 5-17—Separate accords between Egypt, Israel and the USA on the Middle East signed (Camp David Agreement).

368

1979

- March 26—A separate Egyptian-Israeli "peace" treaty signed in Washington.  
 June 18—A Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-2) signed in Vienna.  
 July 18—A popular, democratic and anti-imperialist revolution triumphs in Nicaragua.  
 September 26—CENTO officially dissolved.

1980

- April 28-29—A meeting of 22 Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe for Peace and Disarmament is held in Paris.  
 September—A socio-political crisis develops in Poland.  
 November 11—A follow-up meeting of representatives of 35 nations opens in Madrid.

1981

- November 30—Soviet-American talks on nuclear arms limitation in Europe begin in Geneva.

1982

- April 2-July 22—Argentina locked in an armed conflict with Great Britain over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).  
 April 17—The first national Constitution of Canada came into force.  
 June—Israel's war of aggression against Lebanon.

1983

- September 9—The Madrid 35-nation meeting over.  
 October 25—US carried out an act of aggression against Grenada.

1984

- January 17—The Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe opens in Stockholm.

1985

- March 12—Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons open in Geneva.

369

April 26—The Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance (Warsaw Treaty) prolonged.  
 October 2-5—M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, makes a visit to France.  
 November 19-21—M.S. Gorbachev confers with US President R. Reagan in Geneva.

#### 1986 International Peace Year.

January 15—A Soviet programme for the elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000 put forward.  
 February 25-March 6—The 27th Congress of the CPSU meets. A revised Programme of the CPSU adopted.  
 September 19—The first stage of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe ends.  
 October 11-12—M. S. Gorbachev meets with R. Reagan in Reykjavik (Iceland).  
 November 4—The Vienna meeting of 33 European states, the USA and Canada opens.  
 November 25-28—M. S. Gorbachev makes a visit to India. The Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World signed.

#### 1987

December 7-10—M. S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan meet in Washington. The Treaty between the USSR and the USA on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles signed.

#### 1988

April 14—Documents on a political settlement of the situation involving Afghanistan signed in Geneva.  
 May 29-June 2—M. S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan meet in Moscow to discuss, in particular, the ways to concluding a strategic offensive arms limitation treaty.  
 June 28-July 1—The 19th Conference of the CPSU meets in Moscow.

#### 1989

January 7-11—The International Conference on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons was held in Paris.  
 February 2—Talks on the Reduction of Armed Forces and Armaments in Central Europe ended in Vienna (started on October 30, 1973).  
 February 15—Withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan completed.

March 9—Talks on Conventional Weapons in Europe started in Vienna, as well as Talks on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures on the continent.

May-June—The First Congress of People's Deputies was convened in the USSR.

October—The movement for a renewal began in the GDR and Bulgaria.

November—Renewal processes started in Czechoslovakia.

December 2-3—George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev summit in Malta Harbour.

December—The Second Congress of People's Deputies took place in the USSR.

December 20—Intervention of US troops in Panama. The rule of General Manuel Antonio Noriega toppled.

December 21—A popular uprising began in Romania, as a result of which the Ceaușescu authoritarian regime was overthrown.

#### 1990

January—A session of CMEA was held in Sofia, at which problems involved in its reorganisation were discussed.

February—The Third Congress of People's Deputies took place in the USSR.

March-June—Negotiations of the governments of the FRG and the GDR on uniting the two German states.

June—An official visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, USSR President to the USA.



## PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

### WILL SOON PUBLISH

#### *Tales of the Middle Ages*

This Reader for students and teachers contains stories about the life and history of countries in Western, Central, and Eastern Europe, and partly the Orient, in the millennium of the Middle Ages (5th to 15th century), the time when most of the modern states of Europe and Asia arose. It was a period of important inventions, and the beginning of printing and of great works of literature and art, of the European discovery of America and the first round-the-world voyages.

The stories in this Reader will help teachers and students to broaden their ideas about the mediaeval world.

## PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

### PUT OUT RECENTLY

#### NEMIROVSKY, A. *Tales of the Ancient World*

Anyone interested in the history of antiquity will find entertaining things in this book of stories from the history of the Ancient Orient, Greece, and Rome. The author's aim is to take readers back into the ancient world and make them witnesses of the events of remote times.

# PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

## WILL SOON PUBLISH

### *Modern History (1640-1870)*

This is a study aid for college students on the main events in the history of the countries of Europe and Latin America, and the USA from 1640 to 1870.

### REQUEST TO READERS

Progress Publishers would be glad to have your opinion of this book, its translation and design and any suggestions you may have for future publications.

Please send all your comments to 17, Zubovsky Boulevard, Moscow, USSR.

серия «Библиотека студента»

В. В. Александров

НОВЕЙШАЯ ИСТОРИЯ СТРАН МИРА  
(1946—1990)

На английском языке

Редактор русского текста И. А. Беглова  
Редактор английского текста Л. К. Нахапетян

Художник В. Ю. Новиков

Художественный редактор С. В. Красовский

Технический редактор Д. Я. Белиловская

ИБ № 17664. Сдано в набор 02.10.89. Подписано в печать 14.11.90. Формат 84×108<sup>1</sup>/<sub>32</sub>. Бумага офсетная № 1. Гарнитура «Тип таймс». Печать офсетная. Усл. печ. л. 19,74. Усл. кр.-отт. 20,16. Уч.-изд. л. 20,35. Тираж 14435 экз. Заказ № 01016. Цена 1 р. 50 к. Изд. № 46253.

Ордена Трудового Красного Знамени издательство «Прогресс» Государственного комитета СССР по печати. 119847, ГСП, Москва, Zubovskiy bulvar, 17.

Ордена Трудового Красного Знамени Московская типография № 7 «Искра революции» В/О «Совэксспорткнига» Государственного комитета СССР по печати. Москва, Трехпрудный пер., 9.

3856

3856 # 85